

DOCUMENTS REFERRING TO

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE  
CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

and

COMMUNIST - SOCIALIST - PACIFIST  
ACTIVITIES IN AMERICA

Including

AN ADDRESS BY MATTHEW WOLL

Vice-President, American Federation of Labor

EXPOSING SEDITION OF PROTESTANT  
CHURCHES

and

DECLARATION BY CARDINAL HAYES

FOR LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES  
AND THE CONSTITUTION

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and Reference

by

HENRY B. JOY

May 1936

## THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

33rd Floor, Metropolitan Tower,  
New York, Jan. 5, 1925.

Dr. John Huston Finley,  
Chairman, Commission on International  
Justice and Goodwill,  
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,  
1 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Dear Sir:

On the 20th of October, I wrote you in reference to the program of your Commission for Armistice Day. A reply comes from Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, its Secretary. This so-called reply is precisely what I should have expected from Dr. Gulick. In addressing you instead of the Commission, I had hoped that some of my statements might lead you to take enough of your valuable time to read personally the literature put out under the name of your Commission. I am convinced that you would not sanction the views and teachings marring a program which, otherwise, might be of great value to the cause of universal peace.

In his letter, Dr. Gulick asks:

"May we not have a letter from you, clearly and fully withdrawing all charges and implications regarding the literature and work of this Commission?"

I am unable to accede to this request inasmuch as a more thorough and close examination of your literature only confirms me in the views and deductions given in my previous letter.

Let us take up some of the more vital questions raised in the correspondence. Dr. Gulick says:

"Fourth. Your second paragraph, on page 3, asks if, in our opinion, Christians 'would violate every moral principle if they should unite to defend their liberty by force of arms?' The question completely distorts the meaning of the paragraph quoted. It has no such meaning as the writer of your letter seeks to fasten upon it. The sentence referred to calls upon the churches to denounce the 'colossal wrongs and evils of war' and also the 'methods of war' which 'violate every moral principle and ideal.' This sentence says and implies nothing denying the right or duty of Christians to 'defend their liberty by force of arms.'"

The discussion of this paragraph and the one marked "Sixth" in Dr. Gulick's letter may profitably be carried on together. In the latter he says:

"The regret expressed in your letter that our 'Commission has issued to the clergy of the country suggestions which might be construed as urging disobedience to law and insubor-

dination to the Constitution of our country' can only call forth our regret that the writer of your letter should have so misread and so misjudged our literature as to put upon it so preposterous a misconstruction and misinterpretation."

The bulletin issued by your Commission, headed "The Churches of America Mobilizing for World Justice and World Peace," makes numerous suggestions to local church organizations for open forum discussions throughout the winter. It recommends specifically as a source of valuable information, "The Abolition of War" (George H. Doran Company), by Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page.

On page 29 of that pamphlet, the former declares:

**"WAR IS UNCHRISTIAN.** It is the utmost negation of Jesus' way of life. Well may Fosdick say, 'War is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts mankind today; it is utterly and irremediably unchristian. . . Upon these grounds I finally renounce war. I will take no further part in it. I will not sanction or bless any future war between nations.'

Elaborating upon this idea, Mr. Eddy says, on page 43, that:

**"Until war is outlawed, I admit the legal right of the state to declare war and to pass a law conscripting the man power and the money power of the nation. But I hold to my ultimate moral right to refuse conscription on a fundamental moral issue. . . "**

It is quite likely that Mr. Eddy had in mind the I. W. W.'s who were indicted and, after a four weeks' trial in Chicago, were convicted by a jury of a conspiracy to prevent the United States and its allies from winning the World War.

He closes his argument with a statement (page 44) indicating the measure of success to which, in his opinion, pacifist propaganda has attained. These are his words:

"In the last war a few score of genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It is only fair to tell the government frankly in advance that in the next war, not a few score, but many thousands will gladly go to prison or to death rather than take any destructive part in what they believe, with the Federal Council of Churches, 'is the world's chief collective sin.'

This utterance of Mr. Eddy gives precisely the viewpoint leading to the comment to which Dr. Gulick takes such forcible exception. But, lest there should be any misunderstanding, Mr. Kirby Page, also writing with the endorsement of your Commission, is even more explicit. He says (page 88):

"In proportion as a citizen really follows Jesus he becomes a true servant of his country. Therefore, I feel under obligation to disobey any law that would compel me to engage in war and thus deny my Lord and betray humanity."

The two authors of "The Abolition of War," viz., Messrs. Kirby Page and Sherwood Eddy, seek to fortify these statements with arguments calculated to encourage citizens to follow their teaching that it is the duty of citizens to betray their country in time of need by disobeying the duly enacted statutes thereof relative to war. If space permitted, quotations borne out and amplified by their context could be taken from other writers recommended by your Commission which preach the same doctrine.

Read with this background, could the following paragraph in your bulletin lend itself to any other interpretation than that expressed in my letter to you of October 20? This is the paragraph:

"Should not the Churches, affirming that their loyalty to Christ transcends all lower loyalties and determined to apply the principles and spirit of Christ to every national and international problem, stand on their own feet, do their own thinking, adopt their own policies, and assert their independent right to deal with the greatest moral evil of this generation? Let them refuse unequivocally to support pagan international policies or acquiesce in colossal and provocative preparations for super-pagan wars. Let them declare that, for nations no less than individuals, the wages of sin is death, and that evil is to be overcome with good."

I leave it to the people to judge whether I put upon this statement "a misconstruction and misinterpretation" which was "preposterous" when I observed:

"We sincerely regret that your Commission has issued to the clergy of the country suggestions which might be construed as urging disobedience to law and insubordination to the Constitution of our country."

In that same letter, I expressed the fear that the "Commission teaches that there can be world peace in the absence of international justice." It is true that, in several places, your bulletin does make reference to the need for "the substitution of law for war, and the embodiment in appropriate legislation of the ethical principles of the Kingdom of God in the relations of the nations." I accredited you with that statement. But, it is equally true that your literature, as well as that endorsed and recommended by you, preaches the doctrine of non-resistance irrespective of whether justice is obtained or not. It abounds in advice and injunctions to citizens to refuse to bear arms; and in some of it, at least, the Belgians as well as the French are censured for resisting German invasion. Mr. Kirby Page, on page 78 of "The Abolition of War," asks the question:

**"What should a Christian in Belgium or France have done in 1914?"**

His answer is:

"He should have resolutely followed Jesus' way of life; that is, he should have refrained from hatred and retaliation and should have sought to overcome evil by doing good, maintaining an attitude of unfaltering goodwill and using his best intelligence in choosing ways and means of showing love toward his enemies."

In other words—and this is borne out by the context—a Belgian Christian should not have answered his country's call to the colors, and Belgium should have violated her treaty obligations because, in sustaining her plighted word, she had to resort to "means" which were "unchristian" and participate in a movement which was "both futile and suicidal." The only reasonable interpretation of these and other similar passages in your literature is that war can be avoided only by the surrender of every international obligation and by a willingness to submit to injustice and to the deprivation of freedom and liberty.

Let me call your attention also to Mr. Kirby Page's answer to the question on page 81 of the same document:

"What should a Christian in the United States do if our soil is actually invaded by a foreign army?"

This is his reply:

"It must be admitted that such an event is exceedingly unlikely. It is usually assumed that if it did occur only two alternatives would be open to us: (1) to resist the invader with an army and navy; (2) to lie down and do nothing. But surely there is a third possibility: resist the invaders by active goodwill expressed through appropriate channels. This would necessitate the refusal to retaliate with evil for evil and the taking seriously of Jesus' challenge to love one's enemies. Just what this would mean in the way of a specific program would vary with individuals, depending upon the actual situation with which they were confronted. Every individual should use his best intelligence in choosing ways and means of manifesting goodwill toward his enemies. What would be the probable result of such a procedure? Would it be effective in driving out the invaders? Probably not immediately. Then how would we ever get rid of them? By convincing the rank and file of people in the nation from which they come of our goodwill and in that way deprive the invaders of support from their home base. What would happen in the meantime? Some people might get killed and others would undoubtedly have to suffer humiliation. No method could guarantee us against such affliction. Any plan of dealing with invaders requires courage, patience and sacrificial devotion. These qualities are always manifested to a marked degree by soldiers. Can

behind the bars during the World War. I am a member of one of the denominations which you advertise as co-operating in the work of the Federal Council and practically all of which are represented in the personnel of The National Civic Federation. I am sure that not one of our members would approve the course of action towards war which much of your literature advocates.

I have before me a pamphlet issued by the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches, entitled "What Pastors and Churches Can Do in the Crusade for a Warless World." At the close of this pamphlet we find the statement: "A Church Peace Library of twenty to thirty of the best works dealing with the causes, the cost and the cure of war and with the Christian ideals for a Warless World, should be made available in each church for use by Sunday School teachers and church members." Following this is a list of books which you state "are regarded as indispensable for every church library."

You say:

"The facts presented in these volumes and the principles advocated by their authors might be presented and discussed by church members at the mid-week prayer meetings or be made the subject of debates or of forum discussions."

The list of books appended represents without exception the pacifist point of view. Among these I find: "War; Its Causes, Consequences and Cure," (1923) by Kirby Page. In Chapter IV of this work, on "What Shall the Churches Do About War?" I note on page 80:

"The absolute repudiation of war by individuals, groups and corporate bodies is the most effective way of compelling governments to abandon the war system and to discover more adequate means of securing safety and justice."

In explaining what he means by this statement, Mr. Page says (page 84) under the sub-caption, "Individual Action":

"All social reforms have started with a few individuals. In the beginning, a few men and women think, act and agitate. There has been no other way of abolishing giant social evils.  
\* \* \* Therefore, every person who desires the overthrow of war should begin with himself. What is my attitude toward War?"

Mr. Page has succinctly answered that question in another pamphlet recommended by your Commission, entitled "The Abolition of War" (page 87):

"For me to sanction or participate in war would mean the adoption of attitudes and practices which I regard as an absolute repudiation of Jesus' way of life. I do not believe that a man can ever serve his country or humanity most effectively by abandoning that way of life. In proportion as a citizen

really follows Jesus he becomes a true servant of his country. **Therefore, I feel under obligation to disobey any law that would compel me to engage in war and thus deny my Lord and betray humanity.**

Nor is Mr. Page content with acting for himself, but must needs ask the question (page 84, supra) : "In what ways may I arouse my friends and persuade them to take similar action?" The means which he and his associates have adopted are best shown by the literature which they and those like them have written and published and which, teaching disobedience to law, contempt for government, seeks to justify their conduct by claiming to represent "Christian idealism." **The relation of the Federal Council of Churches to this propaganda, as well as the evidence of the effectiveness they believe it to have attained, may be gathered from the following statement by Mr. Sherwood Eddy appearing in the same pamphlet, "The Abolition of War":**

"In the last war a few score of genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It is only fair to tell the government frankly in advance that in the next war, not a few score, but many thousands **will gladly go to prison or to death rather than take any destructive part in what they believe**, with the Federal Council of Churches, 'is the world's chief collective sin.'

If the Federal Council does not intend to foster the principles which are enunciated in the literature referred to above, it should make its position clear. The Council should immediately withdraw its endorsement of the works of such authors as Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. The importance of such public repudiation of the pamphlet, "The Abolition of War," if it misrepresents your position, arises from the fact that approximately 125,000 copies, I am informed, have been distributed to the clergy and others in this country, and that it purports to represent the views of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In my last letter to Dr. Finley, the Pres't, I asked that this be done. Has it been done or will it be done?

Sincerely yours,

ALTON B. PARKER,  
President, The National Civic Federation.

Church, it is not to be assumed that it is the only offender. Unfortunately, the social and industrial departments of **nearly all other churches** are open to much criticism, though perhaps not to such a large degree. **Nearly all** tend toward the "Left Wing".

It is not on social and industrial problems alone that they follow extreme lines. They are likewise inclined toward the "Left" on the question of peace and war. Either as individual churches or through **the Federal Council of Churches**, nearly all have gone on record as being opposed to "all wars, defensive as well as offensive." Of course, we are all against war with its frightful horrors; but **the line should clearly be drawn between offensive and defensive wars.** Favorite declarations of Church and peace movements are that "All wars are futile" and "All wars are suicidal", as if either term could be applied to our Revolutionary War or the War of the Rebellion or the war to free Cuba which, by the way, was an offensive war demanded by the people. To declare that the World War was "futile" or "suicidal" is to assume an air of mental and moral superiority which existing facts neither warrant nor justify. Suppose we had not entered the war and England and France had been defeated! Our refusal to enter would have been indeed a folly and an act of national suicide.

In this connection, let me bring to your attention a book, "The Abolition of War", written by Messrs. Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page,\* two of the leaders of the recent so-called impartial commission to Russia discussed in my letter to President Coolidge.

The following paragraph in that book is of special interest:

"In the last war a few score of genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It is only fair to tell the government frankly in advance that in the next war, not a few score, but *many thousands will gladly go to prison or to death rather than take any destructive part in what they believe with the Federal Council of Churches 'is the world's chief collective sin'*."

A fitting companion-piece to that volume is another by Mr. Kirby Page entitled "War—Its Causes, Consequences and Cure", copies of which were sent to 115,000 clergymen of the country and in which we

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\*For information as to both Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page see The Red Network.

find the following pledge:

"Let the Churches of America say to their own government and to the peoples of the earth: We feel so certain that war is now unchristian, futile and suicidal that we renounce completely the whole war system. We will never again sanction or participate in any war. We will not allow our pulpits and classrooms to be used as recruiting stations. We will not again give our financial or moral support to any war. We will seek security and justice in other ways."

In referring to that pledge, General Pershing wrote The National Civic Federation that he would consider any citizen signing it guilty of a treasonable act and that he would favor the enactment of a law disfranchising any such unworthy citizen. Without commenting upon this statement of General Pershing's, may I ask if it is not time for all loyal citizens within the churches to assert themselves more fully to the end that the promotion of religious ideals shall not be carried on to the loss and detriment of loyalty and patriotism to our democratic institutions? Of course, the Communists encourage and welcome disintegration of the morale of so-called "capitalistic" nations and, therefore, they welcome to their fold the "Left" leaders in the churches. Suppose labor leaders had so far forgotten their duties and responsibilities as to give expression to the utterances herein quoted! Are we not justified in believing that the whole American public would have risen in righteous wrath?

This tendency toward undermining the loyalty of our citizens and the security of our Government in time of war finds expression also in the activities of Communists and their sympathizers in the effort to undermine our Government and institutions in time of peace. This is being attempted by advancing constantly the ideas of criminal anarchy, criminal syndicalism and criminal sabotage. While a number of states have enacted statutes defining criminal anarchy and criminal syndicalism, these statutes have been continuously under attack by the Communists as well as by ultra-radical organizations. The most aggressive movement in that direction is that of the American Civil Liberties Union.\* In its attack upon these statutes this particular organization has laid special emphasis upon the claim that these laws enacted by the state for its own protection are unconstitutional

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\*As to American Civil Liberties Union see The Red Network and Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists.

EDITORIAL  
FROM  
FEDERAL COUNCIL BULLETIN

September, 1931

*Is Conscience to Debar  
from Citizenship?*

THE DECISION of the Supreme Court in the case of Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh, eminent theological scholar at Yale, and Miss Marie Bland, heroic nurse in the World War, now makes it the law of the land that no one can be admitted to American citizenship who has the slightest scruple about supporting any and all wars in which the country may engage.

The grave issue thus presented to the Churches it is impossible to ignore. It is not merely a matter affecting two individuals. Its effect is not even limited to Quakers and Mennonites, none of whom, so long as the present ruling stands, can ever be naturalized unless they forsake their religious convictions. It is an issue that vitally affects every Christian citizen, for it requires him to accept the view that an act of Congress in declaring war is either identical with the will of God or else superior to it. Is conscience to be subordinate to Congress? That is the real issue.

Surely we do well to remind ourselves that any legislative body is ordinarily an expression of only the average morality of a community, not an embodiment of the full mind of Christ which the Christian is obligated to seek. If the average morality is to become the norm to which the most sensitive consciences must be reduced, what hope have we of raising the standard to anything like a truly Christian level? Approaching the matter from the standpoint of the State itself, we may well ask whether a willingness to fight at its behest is of more importance than an alert conscience and complete integrity of character.

The case is not yet settled, for an appeal has been made to the Court for a rehearing. If it is not granted, there is still the possi-

bility of changing the naturalization law so that the promise to "defend the Constitution" may be interpreted as not necessarily involving the obligation of military service.

Signs are not lacking that this issue is one on which the Churches will take a courageous and unequivocal stand.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., at its recent meeting, recalling that its doctrinal standards declare that "God alone is Lord of the conscience," set forth "its belief that the right and duty of citizenship should not be conditioned upon the test of ability or willingness, contrary to conscience, to bear arms or to take part as a combatant of war."

The General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches voted "that we respectfully plead with the Supreme Court to grant this petition for a rehearing of this case."

The Northern Baptist Convention, though taking no action this year, in June, 1930, declared that, "at this time when the United States and fifty-seven other nations have renounced war and have pledged themselves to use only the methods of peace in the settlement of their controversies, it is quite unsuitable that our courts and our laws should require applicants for citizenship to make pledges that conflict with the spirit and intent of the Peace Pact." A similar declaration was made at the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ in 1930.

Here is a question on which there can be no doubt that the Federal Council is clearly in line with the views of the denominations when it declares that "if the present naturalization law does, under fair interpretation, require the exclusion from citizenship of applicants who put allegiance to God above every other consideration, we believe that the law should be amended."

# SHOULD NOT CONSCIENCE DEBAR FROM CITIZENSHIP IF IT DOES FROM MILITARY SERVICE?

**THINK IT OVER!**

On January 9, 1930, Rev. Macintosh, a Canadian, Professor of Theology in Yale Divinity School, was declared by a Federal Judge to be ineligible for citizenship in the U. S. A.

Judge Burrows said "Considering his allegiance to be first to the Will of God, he would not promise in advance to bear arms in defense of the United States under all circumstances, but only if he believed the war to be morally justified." The Judge decided that "The petitioner is not attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States" and that the "petition for citizenship is denied."

(From Federal Council Bulletin Editorial—February, 1930.)

This Slacker Oath Macintosh case has in twenty months been appealed through all the courts to the Supreme Court and finally decided against the views of the Federal Council of Churches and sustaining Judge Burrows' original decision.

Who paid all these legal bills? Did Macintosh?

But the decision of the Supreme Court was a five to four decision,—with Chief Justice Hughes on the minority side in favor of the Slacker's Oath! Which encourages the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ!

—Henry B. Joy

Read the following,—it may indicate who paid the bills!

"The case is not yet settled, for an appeal has been made to the court for a re-hearing. If it is not granted, there is still the possibility of changing the naturalization law so that the promise to 'defend the Constitution' may be interpreted as not necessarily involving the obligation of military service."

(From Federal Council Bulletin Editorial—September, 1931.)

Again let us quote:

"Here is a question on which there can be no doubt that the Federal Council is clearly in line with the views of the denominations when it declares that: 'if the present naturalization law does, under fair interpretation, require the exclusion from citizenship of applicants who put allegiance to God above every other consideration, we believe that the law should be amended.'"

(From Federal Council of Churches Editorial—September, 1931.)

This Macintosh case is the quintessence of fanatical pacifist effort to render America totally helpless.

**From New York Herald-Tribune, Thursday, September 24, 1931**

## Churchmen Ask Action to Annul Macintosh Bar

**48 Ministers, Editors and Publicists Sign Petition to President and Congress**

**Uphold Educator's Stand**

**Federal Council Organ Also Defends Scruples on War**

Forty-eight prominent churchmen, religious editors and publicists have signed a petition which will be laid before President Hoover and Congress, expressing their complete accord with the moral principles which debarred Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh, former Canadian Army chaplain, and Miss Marie Bland, war nurse, from citizenship last May.

It is stated frankly that several of the signers would find it impossible to render any kind of combatant service in time of war. The others could not promise to support the government without having a chance to weigh the moral issues involved in an international struggle.

### Six Bishops Among Signers

Six bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church have appended their names to the statement, and the list includes such well known New York churchmen as Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, Dr. Ralph W. Sackman, Dr. W. Russell Bowie, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

At the same time the Federal Council of Churches, in the current issue of its official bulletin, advocates a rehearing of the citizenship issue, and a change in the naturalization law so that the promise "to defend the Constitution" may be interpreted as not necessarily involving the obligation of military service.

The statement, now being widely circulated among Protestant and Jewish churchmen, originated with Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, of Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Kirby Page, Socialist, economist and pacifist, and Dr. Sherwood Eddy, an international Y.M.C.A. worker for thirty-seven years, and now a member of the Socialist party and the League for Independent Political Action.

### 2,000 Signatures Expected

It is expected that 2,000 signatures will be appended before the document is laid before Congress. Its text follows:

"The recent decision of the Supreme Court, which denies the right of citizenship to persons who refuse to abdicate their conscience on the question of participation in armed conflict, forces us, the undersigned citizens, to notify the constituted authorities of our nation that we share the convictions of those who have been denied citizenship.

"Some of the undersigned find it impossible, because of religious and moral scruples,

to render any kind of combatant service in time of war. Others share the conviction of one of the persons denied citizenship in the recent Supreme Court decision and cannot promise support to the government until we have had the opportunity of weighing the moral issues involved in an international struggle.

"We concur in the minority opinion of the Supreme Court that in the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation, as a matter of principle, would undoubtedly be made by many of our conscientious citizens. The essence of religion is belief in a relation of God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation."

### Names of the Signers

The statement was signed by the following: Abernethy, W. S., minister, Calvary Baptist Church, Washington.

Ainslie, Peter, minister, Christian Temple, Baltimore.

Anderson, William F., Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston.

Ashworth, Robert A., editor, "The Baptist," Chicago.

Boddy, William H., minister, First Presbyterian Church, Chicago.

Bowie, W. Russell, rector, Christ Church, New York City.

Brewster, Benjamin, Bishop of Maine, Protestant Episcopal Church.

Brummitt, Dan B., editor, "Northwestern Christian Advocate," Chicago.

Burleson, Hugh L., Bishop of South Dakota, Protestant Episcopal Church.

Cadman, S. Parkes, radio minister, Federal Council of Churches of Christ.

Cavert, Samuel McCrea, general secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ.

Coffin, Henry Sloane, president, Union Theological Seminary.

Cronbach, Abraham, professor, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

Dieffenbach, A. C., editor, "The Christian Register," Boston.

Eddy, Sherwood, New York City.

Fisher, Fred B., minister, Methodist Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Fitch, Albert Parker, minister, Park Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City.

Fosdick, Harry Emerson, minister, Riverside Church, New York City.

Gilkey, Charles W., dean of the chapel, University of Chicago.

Gilroy, William E., editor, "The Congregationalist," Boston.

Hartman, L. O., editor, "Zion's Herald," Boston.

Herring, Hubert C., Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.

Holmes, John Haynes, minister, Community Church, New York City.

Huston, S. Arthur, Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church, Seattle.

Hutchinson, Paul, managing editor, "The Christian Century," Chicago.

Israel, Edward L., chairman, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Baltimore.

Jenkins, Burris, minister, Linwood Boulevard Christian Church, Kansas City.

Lathrop, John Howland, minister, Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn.

Lienbach, Paul S., editor, "The Reformed Church Messenger," Philadelphia.

Luccock, Halford E., professor, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven.

Mann, Louis L., rabbi, Sinai Temple, Chicago.

McConnell, Francis J., president, Federal Council of Churches of Christ.

Marshall, Harold, manager, "The Christian Leader," Boston.

Morrison, C. C., editor, "The Christian Century," Chicago.

Nicholson, M. Thomas, president, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of Methodist Episcopal, Detroit.

Niebuhr, Reinhold, professor, Union Theological Seminary.

Page, Kirby, editor, "The World Tomorrow."

Palmer, Albert W., president, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Parsons, Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church, San Francisco.

Patton, Carl S., moderator, Congregational General Council, Los Angeles.

Scarlett, William, Bishop Coadjutor, Protestant Episcopal Church, St. Louis.

Shipley, Guy Emery, editor, "The Churchman."

Sockman, Ralph W., minister, Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City.

Stearly, Wilson R., Bishop of Newark, Protestant Episcopal Church.

Tittle, Ernest Fremont, minister, First Methodist Episcopal Church, Evanston, Ill.

Weigle, Luther A., dean, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven.

Wise, Stephen S., rabbi, Free Synagogue, New York City.

Wooley, Mary E., president, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

Explaining the origin of the document, Dr. Niebuhr said two separate petitions were drawn up soon after the Supreme Court denied Dr. Macintosh and Miss Bland American citizenship by a five to four vote.

One represented the point of view of those who would not bear arms under any circumstances. The other allowed for consideration of the issues involved. Some of the churchmen were disinclined to commit themselves to a flat statement that they would not render any kind of combatant service in time of war. The present petition allows for both points of view, and the signatories give no indication of which they uphold.

Dr. Niebuhr stated he is a pacifist, putting himself in the first class. Dr. Sockman and several other New York clergymen lean to the broader ground of giving aid if the moral issues appeal to their sense of right. Dr. Fosdick and Mr. Holmes have not yet returned from Europe, and Dr. Coffin declined to classify himself. The Rev. Guy Emery Shipley, editor of "The Churchman," was also unwilling to commit himself on this point.

### Catholics Not Represented

The Roman Catholic Church is not represented in the survey. Dr. Niebuhr said 90 per cent of those petitioned had signed the document, and additional signatures will be accepted until Congress convenes.

"Leaders in the Church have thought for a long time that it was only fair to make a statement to the government on this issue," he declared. "They have felt the need of expressing their conviction in unequivocal terms on the denial of American citizenship to two Canadians because of their pacifist scruples. It is not a matter of indignation, but of common sense."

Dr. Sockman said he greatly admired the position Dr. Macintosh took. When asked if he would have acted similarly under parallel circumstances he replied:

"I'd like to think that I would. I don't know whether I'd have the courage."

### Fi. Churchmen Aroused

"There is quite a sentiment among churchmen on this issue," said Dr. Sockman. "To insist on a man like Dr. Macintosh signing a blank pledge to support the country regardless of the issues involved is asking too much. The best minds of the Supreme Court figured in the minority in this matter. We are tired of the idea that Congress can make a war and then ask the church to support it."

The Federal Council of Churches is heavily represented on the list, both Bishop McConnell, president, and Dr. Cavert, general secretary, being among the signatories.

Bishop McConnell was not in town and could not be reached, but Dr. Cavert said his views were best summed up in the editorial in the "Federal Council Bulletin," which he edits. He declined to say whether he belonged to the class that would not give combatant service under any circumstances, or to the secondary class.

In its editorial the official mouthpiece of the Federal Council says:

"The decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh, eminent theological scholar at Yale, and Miss Marie Bland, heroic nurse in the World War, now makes it the law of the land that no one can be admitted to American citizenship who has the slightest scruple about supporting any and all wars in which the country may engage."

### All Declared Affected

"It is an issue that virtually affects every Christian citizen, for it requires him to accept the view that an act of Congress in declaring war is either identical with the will of God or else superior to it. Is conscience to be subordinate to Congress? That is the real issue."

"Approaching the matter from the standpoint of the state itself, we may well ask whether a willingness to fight at its behest is of more importance than an alert conscience and complete integrity of character. The case is not yet settled, for an appeal has been made to the court for a rehearing. If it is not granted, there is still the possibility of changing the naturalization law so that the promise 'to defend the Constitution' may be interpreted as not necessarily involving the obligation of military service."

"Signs are not lacking that this issue is one on which the churches will take a courageous and unequivocal stand."

"Here is a question on which there can be no doubt that the Federal Council is clearly in line with the views of the denominations when it declares that 'if the present naturalization law does, under fair interpretation, require the exclusion from citizenship of applicants who put allegiance to God above every other consideration, we believe that the law should be amended.'

EDITORIAL  
FROM  
FEDERAL COUNCIL BULLETIN

September, 1931

*Is Conscience to Debar  
from Citizenship?*

THE DECISION of the Supreme Court in the case of Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh, eminent theological scholar at Yale, and Miss Marie Bland, heroic nurse in the World War, now makes it the law of the land that no one can be admitted to American citizenship who has the slightest scruple about supporting any and all wars in which the country may engage.

The grave issue thus presented to the Churches it is impossible to ignore. It is not merely a matter affecting two individuals. Its effect is not even limited to Quakers and Mennonites, none of whom, so long as the present ruling stands, can ever be naturalized unless they forsake their religious convictions. It is an issue that vitally affects every Christian citizen, for it requires him to accept the view that an act of Congress in declaring war is either identical with the will of God or else superior to it. Is conscience to be subordinate to Congress? That is the real issue.

Surely we do well to remind ourselves that any legislative body is ordinarily an expression of only the average morality of a community, not an embodiment of the full mind of Christ which the Christian is obligated to seek. If the average morality is to become the norm to which the most sensitive consciences must be reduced, what hope have we of raising the standard to anything like a truly Christian level? Approaching the matter from the standpoint of the State itself, we may well ask whether a willingness to fight at its behest is of more importance than an alert conscience and complete integrity of character.

The case is not yet settled, for an appeal has been made to the Court for a rehearing. If it is not granted, there is still the possi-

bility of changing the naturalization law so that the promise to "defend the Constitution" may be interpreted as not necessarily involving the obligation of military service.

Signs are not lacking that this issue is one on which the Churches will take a courageous and unequivocal stand.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., at its recent meeting, recalling that its doctrinal standards declare that "God alone is Lord of the conscience," set forth "its belief that the right and duty of citizenship should not be conditioned upon the test of ability or willingness, contrary to conscience, to bear arms or to take part as a combatant of war."

The General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches voted "that we respectfully plead with the Supreme Court to grant this petition for a rehearing of this case."

The Northern Baptist Convention, though taking no action this year, in June, 1930, declared that, "at this time when the United States and fifty-seven other nations have renounced war and have pledged themselves to use only the methods of peace in the settlement of their controversies, it is quite unsuitable that our courts and our laws should require applicants for citizenship to make pledges that conflict with the spirit and intent of the Peace Pact." A similar declaration was made at the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ in 1930.

Here is a question on which there can be no doubt that the Federal Council is clearly in line with the views of the denominations when it declares that "if the present naturalization law does, under fair interpretation, require the exclusion from citizenship of applicants who put allegiance to God above every other consideration, we believe that the law should be amended."

## Declarations of Principles Activities

**"THE CHURCH should recognize the right and the duty of each individual to follow the guidance of his own conscience as to whether or not he shall participate in war."**

*(Handbook, 1931, Page 70.)*

**"We affirm the duty of THE CHURCH to support with moral approval individuals who hold conscientious objections against participating in military training or military service."**

*(Handbook, 1931, Page 73.)*

### OUR CHURCHES IN POLITICS

**"THE DAY IS PAST when any realm of our economic, industrial, social, political or international life will be regarded as outside the sphere of responsibility of the churches."**

*(Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, President of Federal Council  
Churches, 1924-1928, now its "Radio Minister," etc.  
Handbook of the Churches, Page 7, 1930.)*

A record of some of the contacts, alliances, and activities of the personnel of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America as recorded in "Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists" (1927) is instructive and important.

<i>Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities</i>
General Secretary of the Federal Council.	Cavert, Rev. Samuel McCrea	Contributor to "The World Tomorrow," ultra-liberal pacifist publication, and the "Christian Century," pro-Russian, revolutionary religious weekly.
Member of the Administrative Committee; Secretary of the Editorial Council of the Religious Press; Secretary of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook.		A signer of the misleading Lane Pamphlet against military training, which pamphlet was backed financially by the Garland Free Love Fund, and distributed enthusiastically by the New York office of the Federal Council. Close friend of Harry F. Ward, q. v.

(Reprinted from Page 195, *Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists*, 1927)

Chairman of the Commission on the Church and Social Service.

Was Chairman of the Commission on the Steel Strike of 1919. (Report on which was discredited as unwarrantedly biased.)

A prominent and influential leader in the Federal Council.

McConnell, Bishop  
Francis J.

(Now 1932 President, Federal Council of Churches)

Member of the American Civil Liberties Union; of the Foreign Policy Association; of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. Outstanding leader in the Socialistic Evanston (Ill.) Conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Service of June, 1926. This conference's main subject of discussion was "Production for Use and Not for Profit." This conference drew much praise and commendation from the Socialist, Communist, and Radical press.

Was one of the endorsers of the Lane attack on Military Training which was financed by the Free Love Garland Radical Socialist Fund.

Cooperator with and defender of the Rev. Harry F. Ward, q. v.

(Reprinted from Page 198, *Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists*, 1927)

General Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Trustee of the Federal Council. Member of various commissions and committees of the Federal Council.

Has been alluded to by certain of his fellow clergymen as the "Senior Protestant Cardinal, and a logical candidate for Papal honors, in case of a vacancy."

Macfarland, Rev.  
Charles S.

Trustee, Church Peace Union. Member, Executive Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, an affiliated organization with the ultra-pacifist National Council for the Prevention of War.

Visits the Citizens Military Training Camps each year, reporting on the messes, morals and methods therein.

Takes a great interest in the selection of Reserve Chaplains; the denominations have supinely turned over to the Federal Council the function of certifying their clergymen for commissions in the Chaplains Reserve Corps, U. S. Army.

(Reprinted from Page 199, *Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists*, 1927)

*Federal Council  
of Churches of  
Christ in America*

Representative on the Federal Council of the Evangelical Church.

Chairman of the Industrial Commission of the Detroit Council of Churches.

Name

*Radical or Liberal  
Affiliations and Activities*

Niebuhr, Rev.  
Reinhold

(Now Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary, New York)

Radical Pacifist. Contributing Editor to "The World Tomorrow," "The Christian Century," the "Survey," and the "New Republic," all of which are radical publications which are defenders or champions of Soviet Dictatorship. Honorary Secretary of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, whose creed is the Socialist creed of production for use and not for profit. He is an advocate of pooling salaries of the clergy to escape the economic pressure of donors. He is closely associated with Kirby Page and Sherwood Eddy. Prominent in the 1926 Radical Student Conference at Milwaukee.

(Reprinted from *Page 200, Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists, 1927*)

Member of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will.

Committee Work for the Department of Research and Education in 1922.

Page, Kirby

Formulator of the "Slackers Oath." Absolute Pacifist. Co-author with Alva W. Taylor, F. Ernest Johnson, and others, of the pamphlet "The Wage Question." Editor of "The World Tomorrow" (see back cover). Co-author with Sherwood Eddy of "The Abolition of War." One of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. **Staunchly pro-Soviet.** Member of the Executive Committee of the Fellowship for a Christian (?) Social Order (Socialistic).

(Reprinted from *Page 201, Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists, 1927*)

Member of the Council of Church Secretaries.

Methodist Episcopal representative on the Commission on the Church and Social Service, as Secretary of the Methodist (?) Federation for Social Service.

Note:—This Methodist (?) Federation for Social Service was the subject of some considerable discussion in the Methodist General Conference in 1924. On account of its unofficial character, and on account of its freelance activities, many delegates desired to deprive it the privilege of longer using the word "Methodist"; but Ward was finally permitted to

Ward, Rev.  
Harry F.

(Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, New York)

Chairman and prominent ruling spirit of the ultra-radical, revolutionary, and I. W. W.—defending American Civil Liberties Union.

The joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities of the State of New York, defines the American Civil Liberties Union thus: "American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements, and its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

During the War, Dr. Ward was very active in several pro-German and Pacifist organizations, such as the People's Council of America, "Modeled after the Council of Workmen and Soldiers in Russia," the program of which was "a drawing together of all the radical forces of workingmen, suggesting *mass action*"; Emergency Peace Federation organized by several well-known radicals and pro-Germans, "to keep America from war and its attendant consequences"; Fellowship of Reconciliation.

*Federal Council  
of Churches of  
Christ in America*

use the name, but without unqualified Methodist sanction of all his activities.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities</i>
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Ward, Rev.  
Harry F.

*(Continued)*

American Union against Militarism, First American Conference for Democracy, and Terms of Peace. All these organizations carried on subversive and disloyal propaganda during the war.

Dr. Ward in 1920, presided over an I. W. W. meeting held at the (Socialistic) Rand School of Social Science in New York, at which money was raised for the defense of the I. W. W. murderers of the four members of the American Legion at Centralia, Washington.

He has claimed from the lecture platform that the Russian bolshevist leaders are not understood in this country, and that those who condemn them are not fair nor just. He has attacked the United States Government for its policy of deporting radical aliens.

Defends the I. W. W. from the platform.

He says in his book "The New Social Order," that the system under which our government is living is doomed to go, and whether or not the new order comes peaceably or through violence depends upon the so-called middle and property class. This class, according to Ward, must bow to the inevitable and allow the so-called proletariat of the world to establish the new social order for which Ward is working, or a violent revolution will result.

Ward is an ardent exponent of the doctrine of syndicalism. The meaning of syndicalism is: "The ownership and operation of each industry by the workers in that industry—the political state to be abolished."

Ward, in his book above cited, on page 373, says: "The principles of democracy demand direct control of each economic function by all those directly engaged in it, but coördinating control of all the functions by all the people."

America has few franker champions of syndicalism, socialism or communism than Rev. Ward. He makes a practice, and has long made a practice, of interpolating his radical ideas into all groups and organizations wherein his political adroitness gains him influence. As Professor of Social Science in Boston University School of Theology, he delivered many radical lectures which he later published under the title "The Labor Movement."

He left Boston University School of Theology and went to the Chair of Christian Ethics in the Union Theological Seminary in New York;

*Federal Council  
of Churches of  
Christ in America*

Name  
Ward, Rev.  
Harry F.  
*(Continued)*

*Radical or Liberal  
Affiliations and Activities*

but his strategic post in the Boston school is now held by his warm personal friend and understudy, the Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam, late of the Church of All Nations in Los Angeles, noted for its radical activities and influence.

When the Methodist Federation for Social Service, Ward's surface organization, held its notorious conference at Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Illinois, in 1926, it was decided that there should be no publicity in the discussions in this meeting, and the *Chicago Daily Journal* publicly stated that its reporters were informed that there would be no publicity. Despite this fact, three-quarters of a column of publicity giving purported summaries of some of the statements appeared in the Daily Worker, the official Communist organ. Ward was in touch with certain Communist allies while he was in Chicago.

*(Reprinted from Pages 202, 203, 204, 205, Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists, 1927)*

Chairman of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will.

Chairman, National Committee on American-Japanese Relations of the Federal Council.

Wickersham,  
George W.

Has long been engaged in conducting a campaign for the League of Nations, the World Court, and the Cancellation of Foreign Debts. Active in many organizations having these ends in view.

Attorney for the Mitsui interests in Japan.

In the hearings before the House Committee on Immigration, held in 1926, the attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, presented as a part of its argument against the Holiday Bill for the Deportation of Criminal Aliens, a communication from Mr. Wickersham vigorously opposing this proposed legislation.

Chairman of the Committee for Treaty Ratification, with Sidney Gulick as his secretary.

*(Reprinted from Page 205, Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists, 1927)*

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Copies of "Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists," by LeRoy F. Smith and E. B. Johns, may be obtained from The Constructive Educational Publishing Company, 5421 Ridgewood Court, Chicago, Ill. Price, One Dollar.

"Tainted Contacts," by E. N. Sanctuary, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 421, New York, N.Y., prepared for American Christian Defenders, contains interesting collateral information. Price, One Dollar.

Reprint of Handbill Circulated by the  
Detroit Council of Churches (H. B. J.)

# HOW May Another World War Be Averted?



DR. FISHER

## PEACE MASS MEETING

*Auspices*

## THE DETROIT COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1931, 8:00 P.M.



MR. PAGE

### *Speakers*

FREDERICK B. FISHER  
Minister, Ann Arbor, Michigan

KIRBY PAGE  
Editor The World Tomorrow, New York City

EDWARD A. STEINER  
Noted Sociologist, Grinnell, Iowa

(This is one of a series of meetings promoted in 150 cities  
across North America by The World Tomorrow)



DR. STEINER

## Woodward Ave. Baptist Church

Woodward Avenue at Winder

ADMISSION FREE

A dinner in honor of the speakers will be served in the Church  
Parlors at 6:30 P.M.  
Special seats will be reserved in the Auditorium for those who attend  
the dinner.  
Reservations accepted in the order received.

The Detroit Council of Churches,  
604 Park Avenue Building, Randolph 4737-8-9, Detroit

Please reserve \_\_\_\_\_ dinner tickets, at 75 cents per plate, for the speakers' dinner on October 27, 1931. I understand this includes special reserved seat in the 8:00 o'clock meeting.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Socialist  
Publication  
Founded by  
Rev. Norman  
Thomas

An Estimate of more than  
**75 MILLION PEOPLE**  
 reached by Publicity.  
 (to June 26)

Emergency Peace Campaign

● GEORGE LANSBURY, Speaker  
 ● ALFRED SALTER, Speaker  
 ● MEETINGS TO BE HELD



Photograph of Wall Map  
 Showing Cities Where  
 Spring Mass Meeting and  
 Conferences were planned  
 278 cities were visited

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES (Government census 1930)

122,775,046

Circulation of Newspapers and Periodicals  
 carrying News Items = 31,823,482 --no account  
 taken of items, appearing but not sent to us.

Estimate 2 Readers for each paper..... 63,646,964

Radio Broadcast - 2 National Coast to Coast and  
 other locals arranged by National E.P.C. head-  
 quarters (no record of many local broadcasts)

Estimated number of listeners..... 10,000,000

News Reels, 3 national releases in 1500 (estimated)  
 theatres (6 days average 250 daily) 2,250,000

Leaflets distributed during Democratic Convention 6,000

Painting "For What" in 5 Exhibits seen by estimated  
 number of people 3,000

Meetings at Washington Monument -Reyburn Plaza (Phila)  
 with attended Pigeon Demonstration 1,000

TOTAL POPULATION REACHED (Estimated)

75,906,964



ACCOMPLISHMENTS PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT (continued)

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

WITH LAURA INGALLS "FLYING FOR PEACE"

Leaflets urging Democratic Convention to adopt strong Peace Platform were distributed from airplane.

Message to President Roosevelt carried by Homing pigeons, one released over Convention Hall.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION (Continued)

Mayor Wilson met Miss Ingalls in his office and gave informal talk with Reportors and Photographers Present.

Miss Ingalls spoke over Radio, interviewed by Harry Herschfield, Commentator, YMCA and Intercity Group.

BOOKLETS and PRINTED MATTER

- (1) Financial Appeal Booklet
- (2) Designed and helped with Peace Enrollment Booklet
- (3) Designed and helped with Dr. Onderdonks
  - (a) Booklet and (b) two posters.
- (4) Prepared Special Booklet--Letterhead and Card to send to 100,000 ministers.
- (5) Designed Illustrated Receipts.
- (6) Layed out Suggested Poster "For What".

FINANCIAL LETTERS

- (1) Illustrated Letter to FRIENDS sent out by Clement Biddle
- (2) 3 Letters for New York Campaign.
- (3) Letter to signers of National Campaign Poll of Personal Attitudes.

NEWS BULLETIN

- (4 Page Illustrated Publication)  
Sent out in April and May  
July issue now in preparation.

SERVICE TO OTHER DEPARTMENTS

- (1) Biographies prepared for all speakers and Youth Leaders
- (2) Cuts and Mats made and assembled Ready for Fall Campaign.
- (3) Stories specially prepared for Youth Department, Labor, Movies. (With Reyburn Plaza Meeting.)
- (4) Constant contact with New York office, Mr. Tinker and Mr. Jones

IN PROSPECT

Music for Fall Meeting  
Helping get speakers for Armistice Day Meetings - Hull, Byrd, et al  
Preparation of Who's Who in the E.P.C.

ESTIMATED CASH VALUE OF PUBLICITY.

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NEWSPAPERS

382,179 lines actually checked and pasted in Clipping Books

76,436 lines additional allowed (20%) for Religion, Labor and newspaper items not sent in or checked.

458,615 lines at estimated value of 33 1/3 cents per line  
(Reading notices are considered from two to ten times more valuable than paid advertising) \$ 152,872

RADIO      2 National Coast to Coast (estimated)      3000.  
                  Mutual (3 Stations)                  700.  
                  Local and Intercity                  300.      4,000

NEWS REELS      3 National Releases in 1500 Theatres (estimated)  
                  \$ 5.-- per theatre.                      7,500

PAINTINGS      "For What"      500.  
                  War as a Gorilla      100.      600

AIRPLANE AND HOMING PIGEONS  
Demonstrations - Washington - Philadelphia      600

NO ESTIMATE ON OTHER ACTIVITIES and Service to other departments - Booklets - Financial Appeal - etc. \$ 165,572

ACTUAL COST OF PUBLICITY DEPT. TO JUNE 26.      \$ 6,802.96  
(Including Printing Cuts, mats, etc.)

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News Clippings - Showing Distribution by States

(In comparing Circulation with Population multiply Circulation at least by 2, representing a conservative number of readers for each paper. Figures are from actual clippings in file but at least 20% additional should be added for items published but not clipped and for the Labor and Negro press not on Clipping Bureau Service.)

<u>STATE</u>	<u>NEWSPAPERS</u>	<u>INCHES</u>	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>
ALABAMA	12	414 1/2	286,282	2,646,248
ARIZONA	4	155 1/4	63,449	435,573
ARKANSAS	5	140	115,736	1,845,482
CALIFORNIA	59	2,489 1/2	1,858,171	5,677,251
COLORADO	5	297	217,518	1,035,791
CONNECTICUT	28	977 1/4	480,115	1,606,903
DELAWARE	2	19	46,622	238,380
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	5	205	510,475	486,869
FLORIDA	5	50	209,455	1,468,211
GEORGIA	10	229 3/4	353,670	2,908,506
IDAHO	10	298 3/4	43,090	445,032
ILLINOIS	25	365 3/4	2,911,457	7,630,654
INDIANA	20	538 1/4	643,420	3,238,503
IOWA	10	144	431,241	2,470,939
KANSAS	19	390 1/2	243,852	1,880,999
KENTUCKY	12	446 1/4	489,159	2,614,589
LOUISIANA	6	56 1/2	153,809	2,101,593
MAINE	13	329 3/4	226,895	797,423
MARYLAND	8	140 1/2	361,211	1,631,526
MASSACHUSETTS	47	1,146 1/2	2,286,199	4,249,614
MICHIGAN	39	443 3/4	1,223,749	4,842,325
MINNESOTA	10	495 1/4	616,072	2,563,953
MISSISSIPPI	7	73 1/2	73,376	2,009,821
MISSOURI	14	329 1/2	1,313,679	3,629,367
MONTANA	3	49	29,012	537,606
NEBRASKA	12	522 3/4	184,423	1,377,963
NEVADA	2	22	13,791	91,058
NEW HAMPSHIRE	6	59 1/2	54,786	465,293
NEW JERSEY	61	1,964 1/2	847,467	4,041,334
NEW MEXICO	3	35 3/4	32,136	423,317
NEW YORK	112	3,908 1/4	6,322,008	12,588,066
NORTH CAROLINA	16	387	295,355	3,170,276
NORTH DAKOTA	2	11	-----	680,845
OHIO	38	1,355	1,322,522	6,646,697
OKLAHOMA	17	156 1/2	482,784	2,396,040
OREGON	28	444 1/2	266,846	953,786
PENNSYLVANIA	70	2,452 3/4	2,826,841	9,631,350
RHODE ISLAND	7	169 1/2	210,513	687,497
SOUTH CAROLINA	4	81 3/4	66,070	1,738,765
SOUTH DAKOTA	1	7	2,000	692,849
TENNESSEE	10	1,129 3/4	526,292	2,616,556
TEXAS	42	1,585	99,932	5,824,715
UTAH	3	135 3/4	98,718	507,847
VERMONT	8	515 3/4	57,888	359,611
VIRGINIA	13	393	260,438	2,421,851
WASHINGTON	20	346 1/2	457,599	1,563,396
WEST VIRGINIA	7	158	77,147	1,729,205
WISCONSIN	10	421 1/2	298,969	2,939,006
WYOMING	1	15	5,459	225,565
RELIGIOUS PAPERS, PERIODICALS, FOREIGN PAPERS, ETC.	35	804 1/2	1,825,794	
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>906</b>	<b>27,298 1/2</b>	<b>31,823,482</b>	<b>122,775,046</b>

1936

President W. O. Mendenhall  
Whittier College  
Whittier, Calif.

My dear Friend:

I hope you will show your wife the following comment which came from a friend in Oregon:

"Dr. Mendenhall was tremendous and appealed to the students as no other speaker has during the year. Their applause was longer and harder than I have ever heard. The quiet humor of the man was too powerful to resist. His arguments were watertight."

This will cost you a quarter when I see you, if I ever return to California.

As ever,

KP/ls

59367

D R A F T

Dear Brother Minister:

As a leader in religion and with a point of view that transcends the passing issues of opportunist politicians, we are urging your support of the candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency who have taken a four square and uncompromising position on the basic issues of world peace, social justice and economic reconstruction. Because you believe in the realization of these ideas, we invite you to join the Thomas and Nelson Independent Committee and vote Socialist in 1936.

Norman Thomas, long active in the Presbyterian ministry and Fellowship of Reconciliation, is for the third time the standard bearer for the Socialist Party. No man in America has done so much for peace, for the labor movement, for civil rights and education in the field of social justice as Mr. Thomas.

George Nelson, a loyal Lutheran layman and a dirt farmer from Wisconsin, is candidate for Vice-President. He has been a Socialist for years and has served as a representative in the State Assembly in Wisconsin, and as a member of the Board of Regents of the University. He is one of the best known leaders in farm organizations in the mid-west and was just elected Vice-President of the Farm Holiday Association, and is a member of the Executive Board of the Farmers' Union.

The Socialist platform clearly and concretely states the issues before the United States in the 1936 crisis... For a Workers' Rights Amendment to the constitution to give Congress the power, with no interference from the Supreme Court, to legislate for the well-being of our people; for the socialization of the utilities and all mass production industries; for an adequate housing program; for the immediate reduction of armaments - schools and homes instead of battleships and destroyers; every aid to the cooperative movement and the right of workers to organize into their own unions - but you will want to read the entire platform.

The New Deal has left us with 12,000,000 unemployed, dangerous executive order regimentation; a scandalous Farley patronage system, violent abrogation of civil rights and workers' rights - remember Tampa, Arkansas, Terre Haute, Herndon, Scottsboro, Sacramento; the largest and most expensive war machine in peace time; and a platform so equivocating that even on so fundamental a necessity as a Workers' Rights Amendment, it is abstruse.

The Republican party can be dismissed as a composite threat of moneyed Liberty Leaguers and the demagogic dictates of Hearst. Townsend, Lemke and Coughlin are self-appointed saviors who would be all things to all people.

For these reasons we urge you to become a member of our Committee, to help organize a local committee, to enroll just as many members as you can for us and to give as generously as your income will allow.

Cordially and sincerely,

Mary W. Hillyer, Secretary

Reinhold Niebuhr, Treasurer

Memorandum for Consideration of Members of the National Peace Conference:

Should there be held in Washington, D. C., at the end of December 1936, or early in January, 1937, a national conference and demonstration of peace workers?

Should this gathering take the form of a single united effort, or should it be a succession within a week's time of national gatherings of various peace agencies, or should it be in part a unified demonstration, and in part separate sessions of various agencies?

The Emergency Peace Campaign has for some time been planning a demonstration in Washington for January 2-3-4 as tentative dates. Several officers of the E.P.C. have now reached the conclusion that it would be more effective if a vast unified demonstration could be held. As a basis of discussion, the following outline of procedure is submitted:

1. As many members of the National Peace Conference as desire to cooperate would put forth vigorous efforts to secure maximum attendance in Washington during days between December 27th and January 4th. It is reasonable to believe that combined efforts could secure an attendance of 50,000 persons.
2. A spectacular demonstration on the part of these 50,000 persons should be staged. Perhaps a parade; perhaps a pageant; or both or some other forms of display of the will to peace.
3. State and district delegations should visit Senators and Representatives in behalf of specific legislative measures previously agreed upon by the cooperating agencies.
4. Months of efforts should be put into an endeavor to get large numbers of American citizens who are unable to attend the demonstration to send telegrams, letters, petitions, and resolutions to Senators and Representatives during the days the demonstration is being held.
5. Maximum use of the radio should be made in relaying the conference to the entire nation.
6. Delegates to the conference should be called together by states or regions for discussion of peace action in their respective communities.
7. Separate sessions, luncheons, dinners, etc. should be held by various member organizations of the National Peace Conference to emphasize the particular interests represented by that group.
8. Plans should be made for conferences and mass meetings in cities throughout the nation during the month of January for the purpose of organizing mass political pressure in behalf of specific legislative measures agreed upon.

Included among the questions that require discussion are these:

Under whose auspices should such a conference and demonstration be held?

Should there be a group of distinguished National Sponsors?

Who should constitute the working committee?

Who should be invited to serve as director of the conference during the coming six months?

How should the conference be financed?

Perhaps this is a convenient place for me to conclude.

936

It was suggested that the Emergency Peace Campaign add to its statement of aim a fourth objective as follows:

To acquaint all persons who are determined to do everything they can to promote peace with the work ~~and~~ the member organizations of the National Peace Conference and their various approaches to the central problem of preventing war.

It is understood that the Emergency Peace Campaign is a member of the National Peace Conference and that it is using the facilities of the member organizations insofar as their policies are in agreement with the Emergency Peace Campaign principles. "This does not propose any alteration of the main pacifist emphasis of the Emergency Peace Campaign." Mr. Sproul, Mr. Rich and others agreed. Mr. Rich said, "The point is that this No. 4 covers all inhibitions. We can all say that there is no conflict between our organizations and the Emergency Peace Campaign." Walter V. Van Kirk pointed out that the literature, broadcasts, etc. of the Emergency Peace Conference will recognize its relation to the National Peace Conference. Ray Newton said, "It is understood that when we accepted the fourth purpose, it was not implied that this would be equal in emphasis to the other three points or that it would receive one-fourth/time." It was agreed.  
of the

Those present at the meetings: Walter W. Van Kirk  
Dorothy Detzer  
John Nevin Sayre  
Ray Newton  
Mr. Tinker  
Raymont T. Rich  
Mr. Barnes  
Mr. Eichelberger  
Josephine Schain  
Henrietta Roslofs  
Mr. Searle  
Kirby Page  
Mr. Sproul  
Mr. Fey

Miss Detzer suggested that the National Peace Conference be represented officially on the Executive Committee of the E. P. C. Discussion revealed that many of the N.P.C. executive committee were on the E.P.C. executive committee.

Ray Newton suggested that Walter W. Van Kirk attend all E.P.C. executive meetings to help build unification in the peace movement and to help avoid conflicts in dates, etc. It was also suggested that Ray Newton or Kirby Page sit in with the directors of the N.P.C. during the duration of the campaign.

In joining the N.P.C., the E.P.C. acts as a clearing house within a clearing house.

Discussion of strategy: Will member organizations of the N.P.C. support the Madison Square Garden meeting or will the N.P.C. as such support it? To be brought up later.

[1936]

Personal Letter to be written on stationery  
of local individual signing.

Dear Mr. Jones:

You desire to keep the United States out of war and to achieve world peace. Will you join a local group of us in helping to pay for an adequate campaign of peace education and peace action?

This request is not merely one more financial appeal. If we fail to keep America out of war, many of the values that we are seeking to preserve will be destroyed. Another great war will be utterly ruinous in terms of life, property and liberty. For the sake of millions of young men and women who will be victimized by war, we must give priority to appeals to finance an effective peace movement.

I am convinced that The Emergency Peace Campaign deserves your support. The funds which come in response to this appeal will be divided between local and national peace activities. Half of the total amount will be expended by a responsible local committee and half will be forwarded to the Emergency Peace Campaign for its national activities.

Please let me know how substantial a part you desire to take in financing this life-and-death enterprise. You may fill out the enclosed blank for the amount you desire to contribute, whether it be one dollar per day or one cent per day.

We shall be wise if we do our sacrificing now!

Sincerely yours,

□ 936

MEMORANDUM for Ray Newton  
Wellington Tinker  
A. A. Small  
James Mullin  
Sherwood Eddy

1. It seems imperative that we produce an effective leaflet which we may use with our financial appeal. I am enclosing a rough, tentative suggestion. Please pass along comments to Ray Newton.

Suggestions Concerning Finance Appeals for the E.P.C.

3. Request our committees across the continent to send Finance leaflet with a personal letter to selected lists:
  - a. Have a prominent layman sign a personal letter on his own stationery to every family in his church or synagogue. Suggestion enclosed.
  - b. Someone else write to every member of a luncheon club
  - c. A woman's club
  - d. A young people's society
  - e. A parent-teachers club
  - f. Have a small committee make up a list of citizens at large and have some prominent layman write to this list.
3. Request our constituency to take the initiative in circulating the Finance Leaflet at classes, forums, discussion clubs, young people's societies, etc.
4. Follow Joe Conard's suggestion of inviting our supporters to notify their friends at Christmas that instead of sending presents they are sending an equivalent amount to the E.P.C. and suggest that they do likewise.

[1936]

PROJECTED PAMPHLETS

- 1 - War Propaganda
- 2 - Non-Violent Tactics in Industrial Struggles
- 3 - Handbook of War Resistance

Religious Pacifism  
Thwarted People  
oath

PROPOSED E-P-C SERIES OF LEAFLETS

- 1 - The Emergency D.A.
- 2 - Party Platforms on War and Peace - Harold
- 3 - Why America Should Stay out of War - Fred
- 4 - E P C Finance Ray N.
- 5 - Next Steps for American Foreign Policy + Neutrality - Dorothy
- 6 - What Can Individuals Do? Mildred
- 7 - How to Organize a Community for Peace Mildred
- 8 - Immediate and Ultimate Peace Aims K. G.
- 9 - World Organization - Z. S.
- 10 - Tariffs
- 11 - Need for Pacifist Movement Harold
- 12 - The Peace Movement and Communism - D.A.
- 13 - What the Churches are Doing
- 14 - Quotations
- 15 - America Cannot be Invaded - Major-General Rivers
- 16 - Personal Statement
- 17 - Pamphlet for Young Workers
- 18 - Pamphlet for Students
- 19 - Relation of War and Depression

~~20 - neutrality~~

[936]

# EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN

20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Michigan

ELLACOYA MILLER, Director  
KATHLEEN DILLON, Secretary

MEMBER NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE

2230 WITHERILL STREET  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Dear Virg:

Your question as to who we should go from here caught me somewhat unawares and I fear I answered far too hasty. Very sober second thoughts last night and this morning compel me to make different recommendations.

First and most important, I feel that some experienced organizers should be sent from national headquarters to carry on the work in Michigan until some local person could be found. I made the promise to you in perfect good faith yesterday afternoon that I should be willing to continue as Michigan director if you should want me to until such time.

But really I cannot, and furthermore think  
it is far better for the ~~success~~<sup>interest</sup> of the Cam-  
paign that I should not. My husband  
had a long talk with me this morning.  
It first he insisted that I should give  
up all responsibilities May 15, then  
finally said that if you needed me,  
and only if you needed me, I could  
carry on until June!

I shall be glad to help all I can  
to get the new person well started but  
please send him soon, dear Kirby, for  
I am heartbroken, and weary in body and  
mind.

If one thing has sure, and that is  
the only ray of comfort I have, that the  
splendid newspaper and radio publicity  
did good educational work for many  
thousands of people, however few came  
to the meetings.

# EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN

20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Michigan

ELLACOYA MILLER, Director  
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MEMBER NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE

2230 WITHERILL STREET  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Through personal conference I have  
seen seed in fertile ground that will bear  
rich fruit as time goes on. Two instances  
are particularly interesting: The Detroit  
News conducted an "Opinion" column which  
is very popular and read avidly by  
many thousands. I had a long talk  
ten days ago with "Pammy Brown" and  
at her request left her a sizable package  
of pamphlets for her to study and use  
in her work. She devoted one whole  
column to us the other day, and will con-  
tinue to use our material long after  
these much-needed meetings are forgotten. I talked  
twelve minutes over WXYZ and a station  
week Tuesday night. Glennord the audience,  
who had listened intently, came to me

rather shyly and asked me if I would be  
willing to furnish him with pamphlet  
material so he could study further into  
the work for peace. He added that frequently  
he had programs where he was free to  
speak as he chose and he wanted to  
use some of this radio time for peace.

As it has not been all in vain, even  
it has been pretty much a failure on the  
whole.

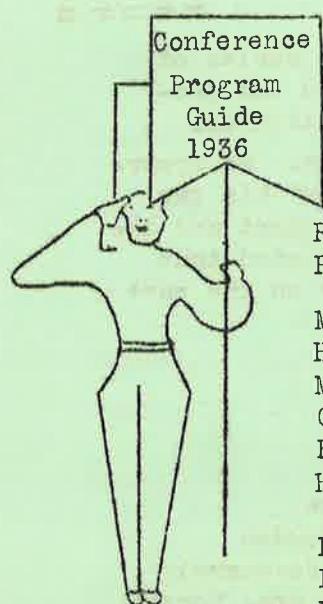
I shall ~~now~~ <sup>then</sup> cease ~~to~~ to be grateful  
for those bad fine moments with you  
yesterday. They brought comfort to my  
soul.

Sincerely

Glory Miller

Saturday morning

Please forgive this hatched writing, but  
I wanted to write it myself. This note is for  
you personally and not for any one else,  
although of course you will pass on my  
recommendations to Mr. Watson and Dr. Moore.  
I hope you have come to good



# ESTES ANNOUNCEMENTS

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## ESTES LEADERS

Rowena Swenson, Nebraska University - Co-chairman  
Paul Booz, McPherson College - Co-chairman  
Miss Elizabeth Boyden, Los Angeles, California  
Harold C. Case, Topeka, Kansas  
Mrs. Phyllis Case, Topeka, Kansas  
George A. Coe, Claremont, California  
Bill Colvin, Topeka, Kansas - Hike Leader  
Herbert E. Evans, Columbia Univ., N.Y.C. - Executive Secretary Conference Grounds  
Lyman Hoover, Y.M.C.A., Peiping, China  
Paul Evans, Fort Scott, Kansas  
M. G. Miller, College of Emporia, Emporia, Kansas  
Mrs. Mildred Morgan, University of Iowa, Iowa City  
Kirby Page, Emergency Peace Campaign, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Clement Richardson, Kansas Vocational School, Topeka  
Rabbi Efraim Rosenzweig, Jewish Temple Beth Sholom, Topeka  
Mrs. Clara Schwieso, Denver, Colorado  
Howard Thurman, Howard University, Washington, D.C.  
Mattie Grace Trumbull, Southwestern Col., Winfield - Pianist  
Mary Salts, Topeka, Kansas - Registrar

## REGIONAL COUNCIL CHAIRMEN

Ellen Payne, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas  
Charles Hulac, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

## Y.W.C.A.-Y.M.C.A. STAFF

Stella Scurlock, 404 E. 10th St., Kansas City, Missouri - Executive Sec'y  
Harold Colvin, Y.M.C.A., 114 E. 9th St., Topeka, Kans. - Executive Sec'y  
  
Joe Bachman, K.S.T.C., Pittsburgh  
Coreen Cox, C.S.C., Ft. Collins  
Mildred Green, Nebraska University  
C. D. Hayes, Nebraska University  
Ruth Haines, K.S.C., Manhattan  
  
A. A. Holtz, K.S.C., Manhattan  
Fay Jackson, University of Denver  
John Moore, University of Denver  
Charlotte Walker, Kansas University  
Jennie Walker, K.S.T.C., Pittsburgh.

D A I L Y  
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- 8:00-8:45 - Howard Thurman - "Jesus the Man of Insight." A series of addresses presenting Jesus' knowledge of God and the procedure by which the life of the spirit grows within us.
- 8:45-9:15 - Silent Time: For individual study and meditation. An opportunity for each person to be alone to think about his own life and that of society in the light of the concept and the values about which the leaders talk. It is expected that this hour will be respected by complete silence on the part of every person in the conference.
- 9:15-9:45 - Relaxation.
- 9:45-11:00 - Quest Groups
  1. Religious Perplexities - Howard Thurman
  2. Preparing for Peace - Kirby Page
  3. Out of the Economic Wilderness - Geo. A. Coe
  4. Study of the Historical Jesus - Elizabeth Boyden
  5. The Social Message of the Prophets - Rabbi Rosenzweig
  6. Personal Relations and Social Adjustments - Mrs. Morgan
  7. Creative Leisure - Mrs. Phyllis Case
  8. Interracial Understanding - Dr. Richardson
  9. World Task of Christianity - Lyman Hoover
  10. The Cooperative Movement - M. G. Miller
- 11:00-12:00 - Informal Hour - For group conferences with leaders, methods groups, for Association cabinet members, and meetings of the Regional Council and Student Christian Movement Assembly.
- Afternoon - Recreation  
Organized hikes, "nature jaunts", crafts, appreciation programs and other creative leisure activities.
- 7:30-9:30 - Evening platform hour, Creative leisure programs, fellowship hours, worship, delegation meetings.
- Friday - The opening session of the conference. Statements by conference chairmen and introduction of leaders. Worship.  
Administration Building
- Saturday - Address by Kirby Page "Giving a Life for a Way of Life"  
Conference Party
- Sunday - Creative Leisure Program and Worship
- Monday - Address by Kirby Page "The Immediate Task in Preparing for Peace"  
Worship.

P R O G R A M  
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- Tuesday - -Address by Kirby Page "With the Stars in Their Course", followed by fellowship hour and worship.
- Wednesday - All conference picnic and camp fire program, followed by conference party.
- Thursday - Panel discussion by various conference leaders "American Advance" Worship
- Friday - Address by George Albert Coe "Is Our Culture a Class Culture" Worship
- Saturday - Creative Leisure Program - Worship
- Sunday - Closing rendezvous

Conference Senate: One delegate from each college; meets daily from 9:15 to 9:45 to direct the conference. Give name of your representative to the chairmen.

Quest Groups: Each student chooses his own group on the basis of his own interests and deepest personal needs. Attend this group during the entire conference.

Informal Hour: Special groups will be announced each day (except Saturday the 6th and Tuesday the 9th) for those who are not members of cabinets or of the Regional Council. This gives a further opportunity to discuss important questions with the leaders of the conference. Saturday all women will meet in the Auditorium and all men in Texas cottage. Tuesday the whole conference will meet to hear Lyman Hoover in a talk about the World Student Christian Federation.

On Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, cabinet technique groups will be scheduled. Leaders and places of meeting to be announced.

Personal Conferences: Another advantage of Estes is the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with these great men and women. Schedule personal interviews with leaders during the free hour.

Purpose of the Student Christian Movement: "We seek for ourselves and others a conscious and growing relationship with God and active commitment to the way of Jesus.

"We devote ourselves sacrificially to the elimination of every unchristian attitude, practice and system in human society, through the establishment of ways of life that are progressively Christian."

CONFERENCE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA

W.S.C.F. stands for World's Student Christian Federation, the organization uniting the Student Christian groups of more than 30 countries.

S.C.M. stands for Student Christian Movement, the cooperative work of the Student Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A. and Church Groups.

S.C.M. Assembly: One representative from each Association plus staff and advisors. Meets Sunday, June 7 and Saturday June 13 during informal hour.

S.C.M. Council: Chairmen and advisors of regional commissions, chosen at Estes, plus staff. Meets next fall to plan program for region.

Y.W.C.A. Regional Council: Women members and advisors of regional commissions plus regional chairmen and secretaries.

Y.M.C.A. Field Council: One student from each Y.M.C.A. plus alumni, faculty and general Y.M.C.A. Representatives, Meets annually at Estes to conduct Y.M.C.A. business.

Y.W.C.A. Official Representative Body: One representative from each Y.W.C.A. plus one additional representative for each 100 voting members of the Y.W.C.A.; also the Y.W.C.A. Regional Council members. Meets annually at Estes to vote upon Y.W.C.A. business.

Health: A nurse is available night and day in the Lodge. If you are in doubt about your heart ask her for an examination.

Recreation: Fun at Estes should re-create not wreck-reate. The deeper values of Estes can be discovered only by a balanced program and adequate rest.

Students desiring to take hikes that are not scheduled and led by the hike leader, are to register at the Ad. Building. Searching parties are a real inconvenience to the conference and an embarrassment to the people hunted.

All camp fires must be completely extinguished before leaving.

Save standing in line by renting a postoffice box for your whole delegation--subject to postal regulations.

[936]

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE COMMISSION ON BUILDING A WARLESS WORLD

For Consideration and Action by the Christian Youth Conference of North America

1. It is our conviction that war is a complete repudiation of every Christian principle; we are furthermore convinced that the drift toward war has now become an alarming drive toward war which requires unprecedented action from youth individually and collectively.

We, therefore, dedicate ourselves to realistic peace action in cooperation with like-minded youth everywhere in the world.

2. As immediate objectives we recommend to the Christian Youth Conference the following:

- a. Foreign policies based upon the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact
- b. Reduction of tariff barriers and international stabilization of currency
- c. Nationalization of munitions —
- d. Make neutrality legislation more adequate
- e. Strengthen the pacifist movement
- f. Abolish compulsory military training in schools and colleges —

3. As long range objectives, we recommend to the Christian Youth Conference the following:

- a. Complete cooperation in world peace machinery
- b. Replacing the competitive economic order with a cooperative order
- c. The embodiment of spirit of Jesus into international relations

4. As methods of action we recommend:

A. For the individual Christian:

- a. Contact at least three national peace organizations to secure their suggestions on immediate action and education
- b. Cooperate with the National Peace Conference, denominational peace agencies, and the Emergency Peace Campaign
- c. Develop an active duly authorized peace committee in each church, and/or other youth groups

B. For the group:

- a. Take peace poll of church and community for basis of further education and political action
- b. Organized political action using the best available techniques.
- c. Interdenominational peace demonstration on Armistice Day in local communities

C. For the Christian Youth Movement

- a. Take a peace enrollment of this Conference while in session
- b. Make available to associated groups guidance material in political action
- c. Set up interdenominational peace conference in strategic areas during the fall, avoiding duplication

9367

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE COMMISSION ON MISSIONARY ACTION  
For Consideration and Action by the Christian Youth Conference of North America

A. It is the conviction of this Conference that:

I. Christianity is essentially missionary in character. Jesus' great commandment calls upon us to love others as ourselves. The New Testament is a volume of missionary literature. The history of Christianity is a record of missionary expansion. As present heirs of this heritage, we cannot regard the on-going Christian Movement as terminating in ourselves.

II. Missions may be defined as sharing the abundant life of Jesus with all men everywhere. Therefore, any area of life which is not completely Christian is a field of missionary endeavor.

III. In a sense every aspect of the United Christian Youth Movement is missionary in nature. We consider as the specific functions of the missionary emphasis:

1. To keep before us the world nature of our task. No problem is solved until it is solved everywhere.
2. To disseminate facts as to world situations and the progress of Christian missions in America and elsewhere.
3. To acquaint young people with the vocational opportunities offered and to be offered by the missionary enterprise.

IV. We register our appreciation of the interracial nature of the Lakeside Conference and of the contributions of Dr. T. Z. Koo, Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, and Mrs. Induk Pak as tangible evidence that "sharing the abundant life of Christ" is a two-way process of enrichment.

V. We must, therefore, dedicate ourselves to intelligent participation in the world-wide service of the Christian Fellowship and to such ventures in building the Kingdom of God on earth as we may discover in this Christian Youth Movement.

B. In harmony with these convictions and to give effect to our dedication, we call upon all Christian youth to join us in such personal and group programs of missionary action as are described in the complete commission report. Particularly, we ask the United Christian Youth Movement as a whole:

I. To approve "Christian Youth in Missionary Action" as one of the permanent areas of the Movement.

II. To recommend to all of its agencies the united study of Africa and the problems of the American Negro as one of the major enterprises for the year 1936-37. (Consider Africa, Matthews, and The Story of the American Negro, Brown, and course outlines are recommended.)

C. The Conference recognizes as crucial problems which we face in the field of Missionary Action, the following:

I. The churches find themselves financially unable to meet the desperate need which exists in the mission fields at home and abroad for replacements and reinforcements.

II. There are also new applications of the missionary purpose to areas of human relations which call for pioneers and the church feels itself unable to enter those fields.

III. There is a great group of highly qualified and thoroughly trained young people eager to undertake this work whose support the church is unable to provide.

IV. Investigations show that the failure to provide the necessary funds is not due to financial inability of the church's members, but to their lack of a sense of urgency.

V. Youth groups in the church have all too often reflected this lack of interest and have built their programs around their own narrow concerns without any world outreach.

Finally, the Conference records its conviction that the only fundamental cure for these problems is a more vital personal religious experience and a concept of Christianity that is world-wide and reaches every area of life. We rejoice that the program of the United Christian Youth Movement is leading in this direction.

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RECOMMENDATIONS FROM  
THE COMMISSION ON  
THE CREATIVE USE OF LEISURE TIME  
For Consideration and Action by the Christian Youth  
Conference of North America

As young people, committed to the purposes and methods of Jesus, we are united in the effort to

- a. Provide recreation of a creative nature to replace the inadequate forms of diversion now so widespread.
- b. Take immediate steps to provide leadership materials and financial support for the advancement of creative leisure-time activities.
- c. Participate, individually, in local, city, area, and national organizations, in a unified movement under a permanent committee of the Christian Youth Conference of North America for the furtherance of such creative activities.

[1936] Vincent Libretti arrives with his

## NOTABLES 'INVITED' CAME TO QUEENS EVICTION ARREST

President and Mrs. Roosevelt, New Cleve  
Lehman, Wagner and Copeland ment Def  
Get Printed Announcements. in i

President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Governor Lehman, Senators Wagner and Copeland, Thomas I. Parkinson, president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, and other prominent persons were invited last night to attend the eviction of Mr. and Mrs. James P. Gilleeny and their three children from their home in Sunnyside, Queens.

The invitations, printed in old English type in the manner and style usually reserved for wedding invitations, did not specify the time, but it is believed that the eviction will take place tomorrow. The mortgage on the Gilleeny's home, a two-story dwelling at 45-18 Middleburgh Avenue, was foreclosed Jan. 11 and they have been ordered out by tomorrow.

### Text of the Invitation.

The invitation reads:

Mr. and Mrs. James P. Gilleeny and Family

Margaret Mary, Joan and James of 45-18 Middleburgh Avenue, Sunnyside Gardens, L. I., invite you to attend and to take part on the occasion of their

Eviction From Their Home, Sheriff William F. Brunner officiating for the Governor, Thomas I. Parkinson officiating for the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States of America.

(Listen for the Siren.)

Issuing of the invitation recalled that the Sunnyside "mortgage strikers" have appealed to President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman for aid; and that Mrs. Roosevelt was a director of the City Housing Corporation, the builders of the development. Mr. Parkinson is head of the company that bought in the first mortgage at the foreclosure of the Gilleeny home.

### Mass Demonstration Planned.

The eviction of the Gilleenys is being used by about 300 "striking" home owners to promote a mass demonstration. Although a statement issued by the Consolidated Home Owners Mortgage Committee of Sunnyside said Mr. Gilleeny had sent the invitations last night, the idea of sending invitations was suggested and endorsed at a meeting of the committee yesterday in the Community Park Cabin, Forty-ninth Avenue and Forty-ninth Street, Sunnyside. In addition, the 200 members present voted to bear the expense of the printing and mailing.

At the eviction two weeks ago of Mrs. Corrine Thal the striking home owners were taken by surprise. They had installed a siren in the home of Mrs. Thal to notify sympathizers and fellow-strikers. A wail from the siren was to be the signal that an eviction was going on. But Sheriff Brunner acted so quickly that they did not have time to signal. Word spread, however, and the demonstrators came pouring from their homes. Six sympathizers were arrested.

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Mr. Valentine  
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fluence."

[1936]

Dear Kirby —

I know you are  
busy as a button  
but I'd give most  
anything to see you  
See fit in any hour  
any place you say.

Office - Childs - or  
the H X Bar —

The world has been  
hectic - Gene had  
a sudden appendix  
operation Christmases

Day - got along  
fine but Dr. said  
one horse more  
would have been  
too late —

Ester is here  
again and in bad  
shape - need do  
care —

Gee-jim (much on the  
G.T.) is about at an  
end —

I keep going by  
keeping straight

ahead and not thinking too  
much - there must be  
something in it all and  
some reason - and I refuse  
to give up !!

so - call me and cheer  
my weary soul with news  
of the family - the wide open  
spaces — a long <sup>leisurely</sup> —  
chat b with you <sup>brave +</sup> courage  
and vision — and to see  
you smile again —  
Always —  
Bill.

P A Y   F O R   P E A C E  
or  
D R I F T   I N T O   W A R!

Nothing less than a political miracle can prevent a European war within the near future.

There is also an alarming prospect of war in the Far East.

The people of ~~this country~~ will be fortunate if they have another two years in which to prepare for the life-and-death decision as to whether or not the United States ~~can~~ stay out of war.

If America is to ~~keep~~ out of war two things must quickly be done: new legislation concerning neutrality and our economic relationships with other nations must be enacted; and, second, a powerful peace movement must be built ~~to withstand~~ the hysteria of wartime, ~~is to be resisted~~.

The time is short. Inertia and indifference are widely prevalent. Vested interests are seeking profits from a provocative race of armaments.

War will come unless the American people take seriously the task of financing an adequate campaign of peace education and peace action.

ONE MILLION DOLLARS

now being sought by

This is

THE EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN!

To finance its entire program for a year, the E.P.C. is seeking a million dollars, ~~the amount spent on preparedness for war every eight hours by the Government of the United States.~~

The cost of a single battleship would finance such a peace campaign for forty years!

by the United States during ~~the~~

~~twelve months -~~ The total expenditures for armed preparedness ~~during the current~~ - one billion dollars - would provide the peace movement with a million dollars annually for a thousand years!

If the citizens of the United States continue to provide huge sums for a race of armaments and refuse to pay for peace, they will drift into war.

A basis of hope is found in the fact that the people of this country are able to pay for peace and are quick to respond when imaginations are kindled.

Generosity equivalent to that of wartime (in 1918, for example, the American people contributed 200 million dollars to the united war work drive ~~to bind up the wounds of war~~) would quickly provide funds with which to build a powerful and resolute peace movement.

Who is ~~paying for the war~~, called upon to provide the million dollars sought by the Emergency Peace Campaign? Every citizen who desires to keep ~~the~~ the United States out of war and to promote world peace!

Do your sacrificing now! Whether it be a substantial gift from capital or from savings! Or whether it be one dollar per day, ten cents per day, or only one cent per day!

U.S.A. and other  
religious agencies)

B

1936

THE EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN

The Emergency Peace Campaign was ~~launched~~ <sup>initiated</sup> by Quakers and members of other ~~other~~ peace groups.

The American Friends Service Committee is acting as treasurer of the Emergency Peace Campaign.

Mrs. Eleanor D. Roosevelt helped to launch the campaign over a national radio broadcast.

The first of six series of nation-wide mass meetings was sponsored nationally and locally by several hundred distinguished ~~men~~ men and women. Among these sponsors were:

Chairman;

Harry Emerson Fosdick, ~~Unitarian Church, New York City~~, Close up  
Charles G. Fenwick, President of Catholic Association for International Peace;  
Rabbi S. S. Wise; ~~Free Synagogue, New York City~~; Kathleen Norris, Zona Gale,  
and Dorothy Canfield Fisher, novelists; William Allen White, Clark Howell,  
and Frank E. Gannett, publishers; Norman Thomas; General Smedley D. Butler;  
Charles P. Taft; Henry L. Dennison; President Frank P. Graham; President  
W. O. Mendenhall; Michael Williams, editor the Catholic journal "The  
Commonweal"; Dean Roscoe Pound, Harvard University Law School.

The Emergency Peace Campaign is now promoting the most extensive program of peace education and peace action ever attempted in this country.  
Your cooperation is urgently needed. Help keep the United States out of war and help to promote world peace.

THE EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN  
A Member of the National Peace Conference  
20 South Twelfth Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Bishop Baker, Bishop Kern, Bishop Parsons,

Date 1/36

### WHAT NEXT?

What plans should the Emergency Peace Campaign make for the Spring and the Fall of 1937?

By way of history to date: Six cycles were planned for the two years:

#### First Cycle

April - May, 1936 - General discussion of the three points of the campaign.

#### Second Cycle

October - November, 1936.

- (a) Discussion of political issues and pressure on candidates.
- (b) National Enrollment.

#### WHERE SHOULD EMPHASIS BE PLACED IN FUTURE?

As a basis of discussion, let us consider three emphases which are significant and within the realm of possible attainment in the near future:

- (1) Relieving economic tensions.
- (2) Securing and upholding adequate neutrality legislation.
- (3) National enrollment.

#### Third Cycle

January - February, 1937

- (a) Political pressure on New Congress, with major emphasis on neutrality measure, and minor emphasis on international economic cooperation; together with effort to change basic policy of army and navy.
- (b) Continuing of national enrollment and strengthening of community organization.

Should we invite Charles P. Taft to serve as Honorary Chairman of the January series?

#### Fourth Cycle

April - May, 1937 - No-Foreign-War Crusade.

Detailed outline follows.

Should we invite Admiral Byrd to serve as Honorary Chairman of this series.

#### Fifth Cycle

November, 1937 - World Cooperation to relieve economic tensions.

Who should be invited to serve as Chairman of this series?

#### Sixth Cycle

To be determined.

NO-FOREIGN-WAR CRUSADE

April 6 to May 17, 1937

Beginning on the 20th Anniversary  
of America's entrance into "the war to end war"

Participants in this Crusade are:

1. Uniting in stating their present purpose not to approve of or engage in war waged by the United States on foreign soil or beyond American waters;
2. Cooperating in a National Forum in which each individual is free to present his own ideas concerning ways and means of keeping out of a foreign war.

WHY SUCH A CRUSADE?

1. Many citizens of the United States who are unwilling to become absolute pacifists are nevertheless ready to say that they will never approve of or support American participation in war on foreign soil.
2. The likelihood that this country will ever be subjected to armed invasion is extremely remote.
3. If therefore the sentiment against American participation in a foreign war could be made articulate and effective, there would remain only the slightest possibility that the United States would engage in armed hostilities with any other nation.
4. Such a crusade presents a double opportunity:
  - (a) United commitment concerning No-Foreign-War.
  - (b) A National Forum throughout the nation with more friendly and more widespread discussion of various points of view on other aspects of war and peace. In this period of six weeks, all speakers would say No-Foreign-War; while some would uphold armed preparedness to resist invasion, and others would present absolute pacifism. Some would insist upon national isolation and others would advocate joining the League of Nations.
5. Should a commitment card be used in the No-Foreign-War Crusade? And should a nation-wide effort be made to secure a huge number of signatures to a commitment not to approve of or participate in a war outside American territory and beyond American waters?

SUGGESTED PROCEDURE

1. Launch Crusade with eminent speakers on national broadcast on April 6th.
2. Send national teams of 5 to 10 outstanding speakers to 100 cities on a national circuit for a four-day campaign.
3. Send area teams from each of 25 area headquarters to a minimum of 100 other cities and towns within a specified territory, thus covering 2,500 cities and towns throughout the nation.
4. Multiple Meetings of Ready-Made Audiences:

Luncheon Clubs	Trade Union Meetings
Women's Clubs	College Assemblies
Forums	High School Assemblies
Veterans' associations	Fraternal Orders
Parent-Teacher meetings	Teachers' Meetings
Ministers' meetings	Social workers' meetings

5. Neighborhood Mass Meetings:

Union Sunday evening services of 5 to 10 churches.  
Union Sunday evening young peoples' societies.  
Mid-week church programs of 5 to 10 churches.

6. City-Wide Mass Meetings.
7. Maximum use of radio - national, regional, and local.  
Should we endeavor to persuade the President to inaugurate the No-Foreign-War Crusade over the radio on the evening of April 6th?
8. Preparation and circulation of huge quantities of popular leaflets.
9. Maximum publicity in press.
10. Maximum use of no-foreign-war posters.

EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN - 20 SO. TWELFTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA

TO SPEAKERS AND LOCAL COMMITTEES

BULLETIN NO. 3

The Emergency Peace Campaign actually begins on April 21st with the nation-wide broadcast by George Lansbury, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Kirby Page over Blue Network WJZ National Broadcasting Co. 10:00 to 10:30 P. M. Eastern standard time from Washington. In the remaining days of April over 100 conference meetings are to be held, headed by New York City, with Mr. Lansbury, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and Kirby Page as speakers. More than 200 additional cities are being visited by our teams in May.

To all concerned we recapitulate the fundamentals of the Campaign.

It is truly a nation-wide effort -- in every state of the nation, and in 300 cities.

Its one paramount objective is to keep the United States out of the threatened next world war which may come this year, next year, or within five years.

It would unite in a great dynamic movement all who support the major purpose, and it seeks the cooperation of all who believe in the vital need of this campaign effort.

To achieve that goal, the Emergency Peace Campaign will continuously stress the pacific means of settling international conflicts.

Also, the causes of war and the imperative need of political and economic changes in the world will be searchingly explored and made more widely understood.

The complete renunciation of war to the point of not approving or participating in any war will be emphasized as a basis from which individuals will be given great motivation for uniting in the persistent attack upon war as an institution, its causes, and its elimination by building up its peaceful counterparts. All who hold this attitude will find strength in the associations provided in and through the campaign. Those who make the single reservation that they will fight in defense of the country if it should be invaded by a foreign foe are earnestly invited to stand in the front ranks of this campaign against war. And all others who love peace and are opposed to war are asked to share in it likewise. Many speakers and some of our national sponsors are in the latter group.

So it is genuinely a nation-wide movement, not only geographically, but in its composition.

These 1936 spring conferences and meetings are but the first phase of the campaign. Similar programs are to be promoted in six successive waves up to January, 1938.

Throughout the two years the Youth Section will be recruiting, training, and sending out into less populated areas of the country young people who will develop the purposes of the campaign in personal contacts, and with small groups in rural areas -- an intensive and extensive effort where peace education has had little development.

The Church Department is doing intensive work with denominational leaders and has plans for reaching thousands of ministers.

On Armistice Day, 1936, peace demonstrations will be carried to a very high level in impressive mass gatherings of all who are most deeply concerned about the objectives of the campaign.

And early in 1937 it is planned to focus in Washington upon the President and the Congress in the next administration the convictions of all who have enlisted in the campaign, by actual mass mobilization and by the presentation of evidence of the public opinion generated by the campaign to date.

So we BEGIN! We are proud of the company of earnest men and women who will appear on the platform and in the conference rooms, and grateful to all those who are exercising local leadership in arranging and promoting this first phase of the campaign in their 300 cities. We anticipate that literally thousands upon thousands of earnest American citizens, of all groups and ages and backgrounds, will get the thrill of the purposes and possibilities of the Emergency Peace Campaign in the spring of 1936. And we believe that America will experience a new vision of, and power for, peace in the world -- preventing a repetition of the holocaust of 1914-1918.

From the EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN  
20 South Twelfth Street  
Philadelphia, Pa.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U9367

FALL PEACE MOBILIZATION PLANNED FOR 500 CITIES  
WITH NATIONAL LEADERS ENLISTED: SENATOR NYE TO  
SPEAK AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION  
ON ARMISTICE DAY.

An intensive peace mobilization during October and November which will reach across the nation and serve notice to the world that the people of the United States refuse to be sacrificed in another international conflict, was announced in Philadelphia today by Ray Newton, Director of the Emergency Peace Campaign initiated last spring by the American Friends Service Committee.

Among the fall speakers are: Senator Gerald P. Nye, scheduled for the Armistice Day meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York City; Kathleen Norris, author, who will speak in California, Oregon, and Washington; Oswald Garrison Villard, contributing editor and publisher of THE NATION; Professor Donald A. MacLean, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York City; the Right Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, Bishop of Albany, Protestant Episcopal Church; and Bishop James C. Baker of San Francisco, and others.

Encouraged by the success of the April-May meetings held in 278 cities, which opened a two-year program of peace education "to keep the United States out of war" and by the summer campaigning led by 42 teams of college students stationed in rural areas in 22 states, this new and united peace movement has mapped out a fall program in five hundred of the larger cities of the country with a schedule of at least fifteen hundred meetings. Particular emphasis will be laid upon a constructive program for governmental action.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS TO COOPERATE

In the spring, the technique of the Campaign called for one large meeting in each city, whereas the strategy of the autumn drive, according to Fred Atkins Moore in charge of the Speakers Bureau, will provide for a number of meetings in each city under the auspices of local organizations. Instead of concentrating its speakers in one mass assembly, the Campaign will spread its forces by reaching many different

groups. The Campaign speakers will address luncheon clubs, women's clubs, labor groups, farm organizations, churches and synagogues, schools and colleges, and other available groups, in each of the five hundred cities, over a period of one or several days. In some places there will be public mass meetings in the evening. The speakers volunteering their services, as in the spring, will include 300 of the foremost leaders in various fields, writers, educators, ministers, and peace leaders in the United States.

#### ARMISTICE DAY MEETINGS

These meetings will comprise only one phase of the fall program. Upon their completion, the Campaign will focus its efforts upon Armistice Day, as a strategic opportunity to call to remembrance not only the terrible waste of life and materials in the World War, but also the sacred feelings of the world on Armistice Day, 1918, that 'it must never happen again.' In New York City, Senator Nye speaks at a huge anti-war demonstration meeting in Madison Square Garden, under the auspices of the New York City Emergency Peace Campaign Committee and with the cooperation of peace, religious, and labor groups of that city. In some places there will be peace parades on Saturday, November 7th. On Saturday and Sunday preceding Armistice Day a large percentage of churches and synagogues throughout the country will conduct anti-war programs, some in special union services and ministers' meetings. Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., head of the Religious Department, has secured the pledges from more than 3500 ministers to engage in an active peace program.

On Armistice Day Eve, community public gatherings will be held in some cities, to bring three groups of people together--those who have completely renounced war--those who renounce war with the single reservation of defending the country against an actual invasion of continental United States--and those who have made no commitments but are eager to share in a wide-spread movement for peace education and peace action. In connection with the Armistice Day demonstrations, the Emergency Peace Campaign is distributing National Enrollment Cards to be signed by those who wish to be active peace workers.

#### YOUTH--FARM--LABOR AND OTHERS TO BE REACHED

While these are to be the major methods used by the Campaign this fall to create

a public opinion strong enough to resist a possible war hysteria, it will also work on college campuses, and with labor, farmers, and churches, through its Youth, Farm, Labor, Local Works, and religious Departments. Recently to encourage peace activities and cooperation with Jewish and Negro groups all over the country Dr. Baruch Braunstein and John Dillingham respectively have been added to the National Headquarters staff. The Emergency Peace Campaign is a member of the National Peace Conference composed of 34 national peace organizations.

PROGRAM FOR GOVERNMENTAL ACTION

Meanwhile the Campaign has issued a program for Governmental Action, during 1936-37, which expresses its stand on major national issues. This program in brief, favors:

- (1) Stronger neutrality legislation providing for mandatory embargoes on munitions, loans, credits and all essential war materials to belligerents;
- (2) Revision of the government's military and naval policy so that it is restricted to the protection of continental United States against invasion, as a first step toward universal total disarmament;
- (3) Reciprocal trade agreements which include all nations, and the calling of international conferences to consider currency stabilization and access to raw materials and markets;
- (4) Taxing the profits out of war and nationalizing the munitions industry;
- (5) International cooperation for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the Kellogg Pact, and including adherence to the World Court.

The program opposes (1) universal draft laws conscripting labor and all other man power, as advocated in the Industrial Mobilization Plan; and (2) all infringements of political and civil liberties, such as teacher's oath laws and disaffection bills.

Among those who have participated as sponsors or speakers of the Emergency Peace Campaign, are:

Harry Emerson Fosdick, Chairman, National Sponsors--The Riverside Church, New York  
Grace Abbott, former director of United States Children's Bureau.  
Bishop James C. Baker, Methodist Episcopal Church, San Francisco.  
President Albert W. Beaven, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Recent President of Federal Council of Churches.

Rabbi Philip L. Bernstein, Temple B'rith-Kodesh, Rochester, New York.  
General Smedley D. Butler (Retired) United States Marines.  
George A. Buttrick, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York.  
Allan K. Chalmers, Broadway Tabernacle, New York.  
Stuart Chase, Author, New York.  
Ben M. Cherrington, University of Denver, Denver.  
Justice John H. Clarke, formerly Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court.  
Cecil B. DeMille, Moving Picture Producer, Hollywood, Calif.  
Henry L. Dennison, Manufacturer, Framingham, Mass.  
Dorothy Detzer, Women's International League, Washington, D.C.  
Chief Justice John P. Devaney, Minnesota Supreme Court  
John Dewey, Columbia University  
W. E. Burgardt DuBois, Atlanta University  
Sherwood Eddy, New York.  
Prof. Charles G. Fenwick, President of the Catholic Association for International Peace  
Pres. W. P. Few, Duke University, N.C.  
Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Author  
Elmer A. Fridell, First Baptist Church, Seattle  
Zona Gale, Author  
Frank E. Gannett, Editor and Publisher  
Pres. Frank P. Graham, University of North Carolina  
Ivan Lee Holt, St. Louis, Pres. of Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America  
Clark Howell, Editor, Atlanta, Ga.  
Pres. Mordecai Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D.C.  
Frederick P. Keppel, Pres., Carnegie Corporation  
Bishop Paul B. Kern, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Greensboro, N.C.  
Frederick J. Libby, National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D.C.  
Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work  
Pres. Walter L. Lingle, Davidson College, N.C.  
Dr. Donald A. MacLean, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.  
James G. McDonald, Editorial Staff, New York Times  
Pres. W. O. Mendenhall, Whittier College, Calif.  
George Fort Milton, Editor, Chattanooga News  
Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor, the Christian Century, Chicago  
John R. Mott, New York  
Kathleen Norris, Author  
Right Rev. Thomas J. O'Dwyer, Catholic Welfare Bureau, Los Angeles  
Pres. Albert W. Palmer, Chicago Theological Seminary  
Grace Morrison Poole, Past President General Federation of Women's Clubs  
E. McNeill Poteat, Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, Raleigh, N. C.  
Dean Roscoe Pound, Harvard University Law School  
Judge J. Hogue Ricks, Richmond, Va.  
Robert W. Searle, Executive Sec'y, Greater New York Federation of Churches  
Admiral William S. Sims, United States Navy, Retired  
Louis J. Taber, Master National Grange  
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio  
Norman Thomas, New York  
William Allen White, Editor, Emporia Gazette, Kansas  
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, New York  
Michael Williams, Editor the Commonwealth, New York  
Pres. Mary E. Woolley, Mount Holyoke College, Mass.

For a more complete list see enclosed printed folder

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While all the reports are not yet in, we know of 475 cities in which meetings were held in October and November. In Chicago alone about 75 different meetings were held and about 60 meetings were held in greater Boston. In spite of many failures and conspicuous weaknesses, the campaign surely is gaining momentum. To date our contributions have amounted to about \$325,000, which could be a lot worse.

We have been having a most strenuous time of it but rejoice in a measure of accomplishment. More and more we feel that the story about the campaign is valid and effective. Last week I tried it out on a retired Brigadier-General in Washington. At the end of the interview he agreed to become a sponsor, to do some speaking for us and, believe it or not, took me in his own car to see a very wealthy woman from whom I received a check for \$5,000, with the possibility of securing a much larger gift later on.

As you know, we are trying to get the widest possible cooperation between pacifists and non-pacifists on the central program of keeping the United States out of war by relieving economic tension, strengthening world organization, changing our neutrality policy and building a powerful peace movement.

At an early date I hope that we may have a chance to talk this whole campaign over at much great detail.

Affectionately yours,

49367

Dr. Page

-2-

was necessity for so doing. With every good wish  
and looking forward to working with you, I am

Always sincerely,

E. H. Bonsall Jr.

Conference Director

B:S

May 19, 1936.

Miss Ende Royden,  
Nestlewood,  
Bayley's Hill,  
Sevenoaks, Kent,  
England.

My dear Miss Royden:

You will rejoice to know that George Lansbury and Alfred Salter have made a tremendous contribution to the peace movement in America. Dr. Salter has been working in the far West and I have not had an opportunity to talk with him since his return, but the scattered reports received indicate that he has received a very favorable response.

I have gone all the way round with Mr. Lansbury and am in a position to say emphatically that he has made a profound impression everywhere. The attendance has been encouraging and the foundations have been laid for a significant movement. We are marvelling at the vitality and the youthfulness of George Lansbury. His buoyancy and optimism have been contagious. Really, it would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of his contribution.

All this makes us eager for your coming. From all parts of the country we are receiving urgent invitations for your help. We could easily use all of your time during January and February in responding to invitations to have you address important conferences and conventions under varied auspices. It seems wiser, however, for us to adhere pretty rigidly to an itinerary of special Emergency Peace Campaign conferences. After careful consideration, we are suggesting the enclosed itinerary. No meetings are being scheduled for Wednesday or for Saturday. This means that you will never be called upon to speak for more than three days in succession. We have eliminated practically all night travel. With about three or four exceptions in the two months, you can make the successive engagements in ample time traveling by day.

We will respect your suggestion that not more than two luncheons per week be arranged.

You will rejoice to know that Kathleen Norris has agreed to go all the way round with you. She is one of the most famous American novelists and is an exceptionally effective public speaker. She will

62 Miss Maude Royden.

concentrate on special meetings for women and will take her turn with you in the mass meetings. Last week I had an important conversation with Charles P. Taft, of Cincinnati. He is a son of former President Taft and is nationally known as an attorney and civic leader. He is a first-rate public speaker. We are asking him to accompany you to the thirty-seven cities, especially for meetings with business and professional men. He has agreed to do this with the reservation that he will not be able to go if Governor Landon is elected President. In this latter event, there is some possibility that Mr. Taft will be a member of the Cabinet. We are endeavoring to secure a nationally-known educator to go along for special meetings with teachers and professors. Sherwood will go all the way. He will interpret the campaign and make the finance appeal. We are hoping to have a British student accompany you for special work with youth groups.

We are confident that these thirty-seven regional conferences will make a tremendous national impact. Our committees are making serious preparation, and you will have a really thrilling time.

Upon further thought, we have decided to postpone the national demonstration in Washington. We will begin the campaign as soon after your arrival as possible. In any event, we hope that you can be in Philadelphia not later than January 7th.

We await your coming with the utmost eagerness.

Cordially yours,

Kirby Page.

KP:RP

Dear Kirby

Denver

□ 936

Your program for  
Pointe West Peace Campaign is OK  
for me. Tom is at the farm & ~~contingency~~.  
It's running wonderfully. It is  
developing into a practical ~~of forces~~.  
You have rec'd my report on  
Arkansas & the Miss. farm. It is  
a romance. I spoke for  
Jim Crookes this morn & they  
stuffed \$17 in cash in my  
hands & pockets (\$300+ in 2 days in  
Denver) so every where. It has  
given me a bad message.  
My article was too hot & "heatie"  
for Harrison but he is working  
on editorial, probably  
for sale.

Jim Crookes esp has asthma

and can't stand Dunes.  
He must have a Do. California.  
Could you not use him in  
your campaign. He is a great  
speaker & I think an organizer.  
I am in touch with him 172 then  
240 3-18.

19 Memphis & farm

22 Tulsa to

17 Amarillo.

Ever yours

D. L. Reed



CURTIS FULLER  
GENERAL MANAGER

The

**EDSON HOTEL**

U.S. 36



GARAGE IN CONNECTION

PEARL AND LIBERTY STREETS

BEAUMONT, TEXAS

My dear Joe Meyers:

The campaign is  
going well on the whole  
except from a few red baiters  
& Negroes in the South.

2. One lesson we are  
learning. Three speakers  
are too many for the evening  
meeting with subscriptions  
and ball. They walk out  
on the third speaker.  
Therefore will you see

that it is understood that  
there are only two speakers  
for the evening meeting (one  
with me) in Oct 15-30  
and Jan & Feb when I am  
with Maud Rayden.

It is ticklish turning  
down a third speaker when  
he is already on the ground  
but none of them can  
hold the audience.

Yours  
Sherwood Eddy

[1936]

I GC

Boy 143  
Van Nuys, Calif.

Dear Kirby-

Your kind note  
was so deeply appre-  
ciated by Bruce and  
myself. Our friends  
have been so very  
kind - and, of them

all - there are few  
who have meant so  
much to us in in-  
spiration and friend-  
ship - as yourself.  
I wish it were possi-  
ble to see you but,  
on doctor's judg-  
ment - it is necess-  
ary for us to

withdraw quite com-  
pletely from our for-  
mer connections. Bruce  
has made a simple  
business connection,  
temporarily - which  
keeps him out of  
doors and gives a  
complete change of  
life and thought.  
However, in our

retirement and tempo.  
Many seclusion - our  
affectionate regards  
go out to you and  
the great cause to  
which you are com-  
mitted.

Cordially yours  
Ida Garrison Curry

Wednesday -

[79367]

On November 20th, Norman Thomas will be 52 years old. We feel this is a time when we should break through the modesty which has characterized the public service he has rendered for so many years. On that day we wish to bring together all of those who want an opportunity to show their personal regard for him and their appreciation of the unstinted contribution he has been making for 20 years to the cause of social justice. We are, therefore, taking the initiative in gathering together a committee for a testimonial dinner to Norman Thomas a large number of those who would like to be a part of such an undertaking. Invitations to the dinner will not go out until after Election Day as this is not a political meeting. We hope the occasion will bring to Norman Thomas the knowledge of the great value we place upon his service and the renewed pledge of our confidence in his continued leadership in the future.

We need the names of all of those willing to act as a sponsoring committee for the dinner before November 1st and much earlier if possible. Will you join with us as members of the sponsoring committee for the Testimonial Dinner to Norman Thomas on November 20th. We shall greatly appreciate hearing from you within a few days and enclose a stamped addressed envelope for your reply, or you can telephone Miss Marjorie Kipp at Barclay 7-0990.

Sincerely yours,

ba&au  
12646

For the Provisional Committee for the  
Testimonial Dinner to Norman Thomas

George Lansbury

D 936

Berengaria

Sunday

My dear Comrade

Ever so many thanks for your kindly  
appreciative letter which I value very much indeed.

My trip & work with you personally & with  
all the other good people, the Committee organizers  
& helpers has been one of the big events of my life

The ~~work~~<sup>task</sup> was at times hard & difficult, but always

the meetings were a joy & inspiration. If in any  
way I have helped the cause of Peace I am well

repaid. The friendliness & good will of every body &

especially of you, has also helped to make everything

[1936]

worth while.

Some day perhaps if I am spared & my  
strength holds out it may be possible to see some  
of you again.

In my case 1936 with you & the emergency  
Peace campaign will remain always a blessed & very  
happy memory. Every soul wish to you & your family  
& to every one of the Friends who helped plan the  
campaign.

Yours always

Grove Landry

P.S. I am joining in all this.

936.1

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, Chairman

RAY NEWTON, Executive Director

ADMIRAL RICHARD E. BYRD  
Honorary Chairman  
No-Foreign-War Crusade

CHARLES P. TAFT  
Honorary Chairman  
Neutrality Campaign

## EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN

MEMBER NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE

20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

*Community Organization and Program Department*

KIRBY PAGE, Chairman  
FRED ATKINS MOORE, Director  
MIRIAM LEVERING, Assistant

### To Chairmen of Local Committees

#### and Chairmen of Finance Committees:

Most earnestly do we seek your advice as to financial procedure. We recognize that there is serious danger that a national headquarters will say so much about money that the impression will get abroad that it is interested primarily in laying hold on every dollar possible.

How can a nation-wide campaign to keep the United States out of war and to promote world peace be financed adequately? This is the question that must be grappled with by concerned individuals locally as well as nationally.

#### Operating on Maintenance Basis

We are seriously endeavoring to operate the national office with a minimum of extravagance and waste. The salary scale is low. Our standard of payment is not ability but need, and there is general recognition here that we seek to operate on a maintenance basis. Ray Newton, Executive Director, receives no salary whatever from the E. P. C. But he has already made a personal gift of \$1200 to the campaign. I receive no salary or financial compensation whatever from the E. P. C., although I am devoting all my time to its work. None of our speakers receive any payment whatever. Miss Maude Royden is giving two months of her time to the campaign without receiving a single penny in payment.

In spite of resolute efforts towards economy, a substantial budget is required. The size of the United States and the number of persons to reach make it necessary to secure a large sum if the work of the various departments is to be adequately financed.

The effective administration of a nation-wide crusade calls for efficient local offices, area offices and a national headquarters. Experienced workers in this field are now agreed that local work is far the most important link in the chain. Prior consideration must therefore be given to strengthening local peace organization.

In numerous communities across the land, however, no effective peace organization now exists; while in numerous other places peace committees are struggling along barely able to keep alive.

#### Area Offices Increase Efficiency

Experience is conclusive that area offices are more effective than national headquarters in launching and nurturing peace organization in local communities. Therefore, the Emergency Peace Campaign is decentralizing its administration by establishing 20 area offices in strategic centers throughout the United States. Ninety per cent of all the people of this land live within 200 miles of one of these offices.

A substantial national headquarters is required for planning and promoting the national campaign and for coordinating the work of the area offices.

### **\$400,000 Already Contributed**

Thus far the Emergency Peace Campaign has been financed by gifts from nine American families totaling \$208,350 and by additional contributions from 18,000 individuals, many of whom made gifts at public meetings.

The \$400,000 secured to date represents an encouraging start in the direction of the million dollars required. But the time has come when a more systematic approach to local communities is necessary. We are therefore suggesting that a combined effort be made to secure additional funds and that the money thus secured be used for local, area and national activities.

We are convinced that much the largest proportion of money thus secured should be retained locally for the financing of a comprehensive peace program.

### **Sources of Additional Funds**

The money needed may be secured from a combination of methods: Personal solicitation by local workers, area and national staff members. Financial appeal by letter to selected lists of individuals. Proceeds of financial appeals at peace meetings.

Experience in a score of cities has demonstrated that through an effective financial appeal at public meetings it is possible to secure in cash and pledges an average of one dollar per person from those present. The proportion of pledges paid has proved to be high.

Concerning the distribution of funds among local, area and national offices we suggest the following for consideration. The first charge upon proceeds of a public meeting should be the payment of all expenses incurred in preparation for and conducting of the meeting, including rent of hall, publicity, office overhead for promoting the meeting, and travel expenses of speakers. After all these expenses have been paid, we suggest that the net remainder be divided one-third for the local committee, one-third for the area office and one-third for the national office.

To illustrate: Suppose that contributions at the meeting amount to \$1,000 and that total expenses are \$250. Our suggestion is that out of the earliest cash received the \$250 expenses be paid. Thereafter cash on hand and cash received in payment of pledges be divided proportionately one-third to local, one-third to area, and one-third to national office.

If this ratio is accepted and these sample figures are used, eventually \$500 of the proceeds of the meeting will be spent locally including payment of expenses of the meeting, \$250 for the area and \$250 for the national budget. Half of the funds will be retained locally, and only one dollar out of four will go to national headquarters, although there is general recognition of the supreme value of an efficient national office.

In cases of personal solicitation by area or national staff members in cooperation with local committees, we suggest that funds be divided into three equal parts for local, area and national office.

### **Extensive Use of Letters**

Financial appeal by letter is sometimes productive. We suggest that the local committee invite some outstanding citizen to sign a letter on his own stationery to 100 or 1000 carefully selected individuals appealing for gifts for the combined work of local, area and national offices. Perhaps it will be advisable to request several outstanding citizens to sign letters that go to different lists of prospects. A single signature may be more effective than several signatures to the same letter. A sample letter is attached on the back page as a suggestion. The local office will do well to offer to type and address these letters in order to save time for signatories. Also to help compile lists of names.

A sample of an enclosure to go with such letters is attached: "Shall We Be More Tender With Our Dollars Than With The Lives of Our Sons?" This simple enclosure is likely to be more effective than a larger prospectus or booklet. We will supply free as large a quantity as a local committee can use wisely.

### Vital Importance of Educational Material

We are now confronting the vital and urgent problem of distributing on a nation-wide scale educational material and anti-war literature of high quality. A legitimate criticism of the campaign thus far is that we have not made available a more comprehensive and adequate supply of this material for local committees. From all over the country we are being besieged with requests for help at this point.

Preparation for meetings is seriously handicapped because satisfactory literature is not available in quantities. The permanent value likewise of public gatherings could be increased substantially if the right kind of booklet were placed in the hands of every person present.

Therefore, the financing of widespread distribution of booklets and leaflets and the displaying of window-cards and posters on billboards, is highly important. Whenever possible a substantial sum should be included in the local budget. Our rough estimate is that cities up to 100,000 population would do well to include \$50 for this purpose in the local budget; that cities of 100,000 to 500,000 should include \$100 and cities over 500,000 should include a minimum of \$200 for this purpose.

### 52-Page Booklet Soon Ready

Securing and distributing educational material in preparation for the No-Foreign-War Crusade is important. An attractive 52-page booklet will soon be off the press. It will be profusely illustrated with pictures, cartoons, and charts, and will attempt to answer the questions most frequently raised. Sections will deal with the Why, the What, and the How. Why is there danger of war, what must the government do, and how can citizens take hold?

We propose that local committees secure a sufficient quantity of this booklet to place copies in the hands of influential citizens throughout the community, including educators, clergymen, rabbis, officials of labor unions, luncheon clubs, business organizations, women's clubs, parent-teacher associations, etc. The distribution of a large quantity in these ways would greatly strengthen the peace movement in a community.

A prospectus of this booklet is attached: "Keep This From Happening Again!" Copies may be secured in quantities for five cents each. We urge local committees to send in orders quickly for 1,000 or 2,000 or 4,000, depending on the size of the community.

Money for this educational material may be secured from a combination of three sources: Take it out of funds on hand; special solicitation for this purpose; use a certain proportion of the proceeds of such letters as outlined above. If absolutely necessary in order quickly to secure the \$50 or \$100 or \$200 (depending upon the size of the community) we suggest that the purchase of educational material to this amount be a first charge on half of the yield of these letters up to a fixed point. That is to say, in a community of less than 100,000 population, half of the money thus secured up to \$100 be used for this purpose, and the other \$50 be divided into three equal parts for local, area and national work. If less than \$100 comes in quickly, we propose that half of the actual receipts be used for this educational material and the other half divided into three parts. In cities from 100,000 to 500,000, we suggest that half of the first \$200 received, and in cities above 500,000 half of the first \$400 received be used for this literature, and the remainder be divided into three equal parts.

I have written at length because of the extreme importance of this question of financing an adequate peace program. Your counsel is earnestly desired. I will be grateful if you will write me frankly about this vital problem.

Cordially yours,

*Kirby Page*

Suggestion for letter to be signed and sent as personal letter on private stationery of outstanding local citizen to 100 to 1,000 selected persons. Copy of attached leaflet: Shall We Be More Tender With Our Dollars? with attached pledge card folded within leaflet to be enclosed in every letter. In some cases it may be preferable to have different individuals sign letters to various lists of prospects. A single signature is more personal and probably more effective than several signatures, but it may be desirable to have letters sent by various signatories to several lists. Replies should be sent to signatory rather than to a third party or to a local office.

Dear Mr. Brown:

My concern about the threat of war prompts me to write this letter.

Many individuals these days are expressing a feeling of helplessness and a sense of futility as they confront this huge task of preventing war.

Isolated individuals are indeed comparatively impotent. But alert and organized citizens can keep this country out of war and help to promote world peace.

I am much impressed by the work of the Emergency Peace Campaign, which was launched by Quakers and goes forward under the leadership of Admiral Richard E. Byrd, Charles P. Taft, and Harry Emerson Fosdick. It is now conducting the most extensive and comprehensive crusade against war ever carried forward in this land.

The administration of its activities is divided among local offices, area offices and a national headquarters. A million dollars is needed to finance its area and national work. In addition it is imperative that local committees throughout the country obtain ample funds.

It is reasonable that all of us should now give as sacrificially of our means in an effort to prevent war as citizens are called upon to give after war breaks out.

If you will sign and return to me the blank at the bottom of the enclosed leaflet, I will see that your gift is properly divided among the local, area and national work of the Emergency Peace Campaign.

While there is yet time, will you help to the maximum of your ability to keep the United States out of war and to promote world peace?

Sincerely yours,

(Personal signature of outstanding citizen)

1206-A

Date

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

# WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENTNEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARDJ. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

## CABLEGRAM

Bartlett  
Fellowship of Reconciliation  
London, England

LANSBURY AND SALTER RENDERED INCALCULABLE SERVICE I OBSERVED  
PROFOUND IMPRESSION LANSBURY MADE EVERYWHERE FRIENDS HERE FAR  
WEST EXTREMELY ENTHUSIASTIC OVER SALTER ADDRESSES EAGERLY  
AWAITING COMING MAUDE ROYDEN

Kirby Page

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS ARE APPROPRIATE GIFTS FOR ALL OCCASIONS

*Sent to Mrs. Rockefeller*

Dear Friend:

You will be interested in an important coalition of peace leaders under the guidance of the American Friends Service Committee for the purpose of conducting a vigorous nation-wide campaign to promote world peace and keep this country out of war. The threatening character of the world situation makes such a campaign imperative.

The timeliness of this endeavor is shown by the response to date. The Friends and those close to them originally contributed about \$175,000 in gifts of from \$5,000 to \$50,000; and over 15,000 people from all parts of the country have subsequently contributed another \$100,000.

Further evidence of the popular realization of the need for such a campaign is found in the unselfish volunteering of time by speakers and local workers. With Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick opening the campaign in Carnegie Hall, and serving as chairman of the sponsors, more than four hundred outstanding leaders of thought in this country gave generously of their time to the campaign, without financial remuneration. Among these speakers were Kathleen Norris, Eleanor Roosevelt, Charles P. Taft, Admiral Sims, James G. McDonald and Charles E. Gilkey. Mass meetings and conferences were held in 278 cities and 47 states last spring, and in nearly 500 cities this fall.

Miss Maud Royden is coming to this country under our auspices. During January and February, she will address mass meetings in 37 regional conferences in all parts of the United States. She and Dr. Fosdick will open the series in Philadelphia. The New York City meeting will be held in Madison Square Garden. Other outstanding speakers will address great regional conferences in 100 other cities during the same period. At this time, special emphasis will be given to the need for neutrality legislation.

On April 6th we will launch a No-Foreign-war Crusade with a nation-wide broadcast. Admiral Richard E. Byrd and Dr. Fosdick have agreed to speak, and we are now endeavoring to secure Mrs. Anne Morrow Lindbergh and Owen D.

Young as additional speakers for this program. Immediately thereafter, teams of eminent speakers will be sent for four-day campaigns in 100 strategic cities throughout the nation. In addition, from 20 area headquarters other teams will be sent to an average of 100 smaller cities and towns in each region, thus making it possible to reach 2,000 communities.

The purpose of this crusade is:-

1. To afford an opportunity for American citizens who are opposed to participation by their government in wars waged in Europe or Asia to declare their mature and resolute determination not to approve of or engage in any war waged by the United States ~~on these continents, in those areas.~~
2. To advocate a revision by the American government of its military and naval policy so that it will be restricted to the protection of the United States against invasion (many Quakers and other participants go further and oppose the entire system of armed preparedness for war).
3. To conduct a nation-wide campaign in which each individual is free to present his own ideas concerning ways and means of keeping out of war.
4. To provide an opportunity of education, legislative pressure, enrollment, and organization of the peace forces. In discussing ways and means of keeping out of war, emphasis will be given to:
  - a) relieving economic tensions through world cooperation;
  - b) securing and upholding adequate neutrality legislation;
  - c) revising American military and naval policy.

In November, 1937, the emphasis in another nation-wide series of meetings will be: World Cooperation to Relieve Economic Tensions Among Nations. Under able leadership an effort will be made to arouse the American people to a sense of their responsibility to strengthen international agencies of justice and to play a worthy part in solving the economic problems of the respective countries. Especial attention will be given to the question of how the United States can cooperate helpfully with the League of Nations.

A major objective of the Emergency Peace Campaign is to create and strengthen city-wide peace councils in as many communities as possible, through which various groups may cooperate in a unified program of education and action.

One of the most promising aspects of the campaign is found in the youth division. Last summer more than 200 young men and women, carefully selected and trained in institutes of international relations, spent their time

in rural areas, carrying on a program of peace education and peace action with young peoples' groups, churches and business men's service clubs. These 200 college men and women served without salary and received only \$5 per week for all their expenses. In addition they contributed \$12,000 to the campaign. Why? Because they realize that another world war is likely to break out soon; because they do not think this country ought to be drawn into it; and because they feel that the Emergency Peace Campaign is the most effective agency through which to make their contribution to world peace.

Other divisions of the campaign are seeking to arouse and inform special groups, including the churches, the synagogues and other Jewish groups, labor groups, Negroes, and various farm groups.

Because of the size of this country and the urgency of the task, the Emergency Peace Campaign is seeking to secure from \$750,000 to \$1,000,000 with which to finance its activities. Of this amount, about \$275,000 has been contributed. We are now in serious need of another gift of \$50,000. This would match the gift from a Quaker lady who contributed that amount from her capital in order to make it possible to launch the campaign on a vigorous nation-wide basis.

If you wish, I would be glad to discuss with you the details of this campaign.

# An Extraordinary Team!

D9367

## MAUDE ROYDEN

### KATHLEEN NORRIS

**An Oxford University Student  
An Outstanding Educator**

### SHERWOOD EDDY

**A Prominent Business Man  
A Distinguished Clergyman**

---

## FOR 37 REGIONAL CONFERENCES

(with attendance from a radius of 100 miles)

As a part of the nation-wide series of mass meetings to be conducted by the Emergency Peace Campaign in 1,000 cities during the month of January, 1937, we are suggesting that in the following cities one-day **Regional Conferences** be held:

### January

7—Philadelphia  
8—Baltimore  
11—New York City  
12—Boston  
14—Rochester  
15—Buffalo  
17—Detroit  
18—Cleveland  
19—Pittsburgh  
21—Columbus  
22—Indianapolis  
24—Cincinnati  
25—Chicago  
26—St. Louis  
28—Kansas City, Mo.  
29—Des Moines  
31—Milwaukee

### February

1—Minneapolis  
2—St. Paul  
5—Spokane  
7—Tacoma  
8—Seattle  
9—Portland  
11—San Francisco  
12—Fresno  
14, 15—Los Angeles Area  
16—San Diego  
18—Tucson  
21—San Antonio  
22—Dallas  
23—Houston  
25—New Orleans  
26—Birmingham  
28—Atlanta

### March

1—Nashville      2—Louisville      4—New York City

## WHO'S WHO

**Maude Royden:** Outstanding British preacher and peace leader.

**Kathleen Norris:** Distinguished American novelist; brilliant speaker.

**Sherwood Eddy:** World traveler and social evangelist.

**An Oxford Student:** One of three British students who will tour American colleges for the Emergency Peace Campaign.

The names of three other members of this team will soon be announced.

## SUGGESTED PROGRAM

### 4:00 to 6:00 p. m.

Five or six simultaneous meetings. In the cities visited by this team on **Sunday**, we suggest that these group meetings be held from **3:00 to 5:00 p. m.**

- (a) **Women's Organizations:** Kathleen Norris will speak and also will conduct a forum.
- (b) **Youth:** A British student will be present in each of these 37 cities. An outstanding local student will share leadership of this group meeting.
- (c) **Educators:** Name of outstanding leader to be announced soon.
- (d) **Religious Workers:** Name of outstanding leader to be announced soon.
- (e) **Business and Professional Men:** Name of outstanding leader to be announced soon.
- (f) **Organized Labor:** Wherever possible, it is highly desirable that such a meeting be held. We recognize, however, the difficulty of securing attendance from industrial workers at these hours, **except on Sunday.**

### Evening Mass Meeting: 7:30 to 10:00 p. m.

Largest hall available (5,000 to 10,000).

Music—7:30 to 7:45 p. m. sharp.

Miss Royden will speak.

Sherwood Eddy will speak, and also will interpret the E. P. C. and make the finance appeal.

The name of a third outstanding speaker will be announced soon.

## IMMEDIATE ACTION REQUIRED

1. Without delay the **largest hall available** should be definitely engaged for the evening mass meeting. With proper preparation an attendance of 5,000 to 15,000 persons may be secured. Wherever possible a heavy advance payment for a hall should be avoided. In many instances, two or three outstanding citizens can be persuaded to guarantee payment for the hall and thus avoid a large cash advance. The **net** proceeds of the financial appeal at the mass meeting, after conference expenses are paid, will be divided equally between the local committee which planned the conference and the national office of the E. P. C.
2. Enlarge working committee to include representative of every important group which is in sympathy with the methods of this campaign and which is willing to cooperate in conducting this conference.
3. Secure 50 to 100 representative citizens as Regional Sponsors of this conference.
4. If possible secure official endorsement of Federation of Churches, Ministerial Associations, Trade Unions, Youth Councils, Federation of Women's Clubs, etc.

# An Extraordinary Team!

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22—Indianapolis  
24—Cincinnati  
25—Chicago  
26—St. Louis  
28—Kansas City, Mo.  
29—Des Moines  
31—Milwaukee

#### February

1—Minneapolis  
2—St. Paul  
5—Spokane  
7—Tacoma  
8—Seattle  
9—Portland  
11—San Francisco  
12—Fresno  
14, 15—Los Angeles Area  
16—San Diego  
18—Tucson  
21—San Antonio  
22—Dallas  
23—Houston  
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3. Secure 50 to 100 representative citizens as Regional Sponsors of this conference.
4. If possible secure official endorsement of Federation of Churches, Ministerial Associations, Trade Unions, Youth Councils, Federation of Women's Clubs, etc.

LIVING COURAGEOUSLY

By Kirby Page. Farrar and Rinehart. \$

This is a impassioned call to higher living that Kirby Page has sent to American youth. In it he suggests that courage is a necessary requisite in "living triumphantly" and "living creatively."

The plan of the book is a little unusual. The first one-third is given to ten chapters each a "call" to action, to endeavor, to adventure, to suffering in the realm of personal living and social creation. The remaining two-thirds is an anthology of modern prose and verse, taken from such men as MacMurray, <sup>a</sup> Loski, Nehru, Fosdick, Rauschenbusch, Sandburg, etc. It is an unusually vigorous, almost blazing anthology of modern socialistic writing that electrifies the view and stimulates the will. But outwardly effective action is seen to rest on inwardly disciplined living and thinking and the book aims at creating for the individual contact with "the sources of power required by an individual in this day of terrific social conflict.

The whole book rings with a sense of urgency, and intensity that should appeal to youth particularly. It is a bugle, trumpeting a call to perish rather than forsake the totalitarian claim of Christianity.

Is it really "visionary and Utopian to expect religious people to follow their deepest convictions at the cost of position, comfort and safety?" The book claims that "lack of courage on the part of most religious people in following what they know to be the mandates of their faith is responsible for much of the barrenness and impotence

2926

of the Church."

Repudiating the methods of Fascism and Communism, the writer states simply that there is "only one pathway leading upward to the City of God: radical transformation of the present social order by pacific means."

But this means courage, the courage of the Christ facing a world alone; the resources are there - and we must use them. The sword of the Spirit must be wielded with more determined courage than the sword of steel the Fascist and Communist flashes.

It is a thoroughly rousing and invigorating book and provides a "socialist anthology" of great power.

John Alexander

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	CABLE LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	WEEK END LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

# WESTERN UNION

Form 1207-A

NO.	CASH OR CHG.
	CHECK
	TIME FILED

**NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT**

**J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT**

*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

19

To Frank E. Gannett

Street and No. Rochester Times Union

*Place* Rochester NY

Detroit mass meeting postponed until February fourteenth in hope you can

speak audience five thousand in Masonic Temple with Charles Taft and

Francis Savre stop Taft enlisting support Edsel Ford stop meeting sponsored

by distinguished citizens stop hitherto peace movement Detroit extremely

weak spot highly important make outstanding success mesa meeting stop

*me here*  
as nearly home you will wire acceptance and/or agreeing if necessary.

*carelessly hope you will write again  
fly away park way*

~~City Detroit from Florida~~

*^*

Kirby Page

*Sender's Address For Reference*

**Sender's Telephone Number**

**MONEY ORDERS BY TELEGRAPH AND CABLE**

0736

Form 1207-A

NO.	CASH OR CHG.
	CHECK
	TIME FILED

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	CABLE LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	WEEK END LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

# WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

19

To Charles A. Smith

Street and No. 12303 Rosedawn

Place Detroit Mich

Had five hour conference yesterday with Charles Taft  
 stop he is writing Edsel Ford urging cooperation  
 Detroit Committee stop Taft can come Detroit  
 February seventh or fourteenth fifteenth stop Frank  
 Gannett will be Florida January twenty four  
 but ~~is~~ definitely available later stop ~~stop~~ Francis  
~~Sayre unable make commitment for future date~~  
~~date~~ ~~He has been sent urgent invitation from~~  
 influential Detroit Committee probably would secure  
~~Edsel~~ Francis Sayre stop suggest Masonic Temple meeting February fourteen

Sender's Address For Reference

Sender's Telephone Number

MONEY ORDERS BY TELEGRAPH AND CABLE

Collect

□ 9367

Form 1207-A

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	CABLE LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	WEEK END LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

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NO.	CASH OR CHG.
	CHECK
	TIME FILED

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J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

19

To Fred Atkins Moore

Street and No. 1201 Chestnut St Room 706

Place Philadelphia

Suggest placing at top of new stationery quote Charles P Taft Chairman Winter Campaign sixie Terminal Building Cincinnati Ohio unquote Taft available January twenty four Akron or other important center since Bishop Hobson presiding Cincinnati stop Taft willing stay Pittsburgh <sup>eighteenth</sup> invited address Hungry Club stop also available luncheon only Knoxville Tennessee February twenty seventh stop suggest Edgar Lewis Jones elected new president Federal Council Churches ad. shown

Kirby Page

Sender's Address For Reference

Sender's Telephone Number

MONEY ORDERS BY TELEGRAPH AND CABLE

D 9367

2370 Washington Street  
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Friend:

A number of prominent persons in New York, many of whom are not affiliated with any political party, have recently organized an Independent Committee for Thomas and Nelson, the two Socialist candidates. Among the organizers of this Committee are:

Freda Kirchwey, editor of the Nation  
Lewis Gannett, literary critic, N.Y. Herald-Tribune  
Dr. Morris Cohen, Columbia University  
Prof. Sidney Hook, N.Y. University  
Max Eastman, noted author  
Robert Morss Lovett, an editor of the New Republic  
Bishop Francis McConnell, Reinhold Niebuhr, Helen Woodward, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Art Young, James Rorty and many others.

Enclosed is a public letter recently released by members of this Committee in New York. We ask you to read it carefully.

These independent liberals and radicals have endorsed the two Socialist candidates because of their personal integrity, their long record of activity in behalf of labor and minority groups and because they are the only national candidates who stand unalterably opposed to ALL wars between capitalist nations, to all types of militarism and fascism; because they have made no attempt to woo the cooperation of such demagogues as Smith, Coughlin and Townsend and have declared frankly that in order to avoid fascism it is necessary, not merely to maintain the status quo, but to change the social and economic conditions which breed fascism.

There was a time when the Communist Party also took this position but during the past year it has reverted to the role of the German Social Democrats in 1914. Its candidates now support "good" wars, flirt with political demagogues and denounce honest radicals as sectarian.

For this reason the members of the Independent Committee believe that the only way in which to register a protest against insecurity, war and fascism is to support the position of the Socialists.

The undersigned have been asked to organize a branch of the Independent Committee in California. We are asking you to become a member (membership entails no active work) and if possible, to make a contribution to the Committee's work. Checks may be made out to the Thomas-Nelson Committee of which Reinhold Niebuhr is Treasurer or to either of the undersigned. If you cannot contribute, will you lend your name?

Sincerely,

*Seelby Symes*

P.S. A recent California addition to the National Committee is Mrs. Esther Fiske Hammond of Santa Barbara.

116 High Street  
Leonia N.J.  
[1936]

My dear Mr. Page,

Seventeen years  
back is a long time to recall  
but I wonder if you remember  
a certain Helen Dittmer  
who later married Captain Baker?

My sister, whom you married  
and I were baptised and joined  
the Church of Christ in Ridgewood  
during your pastorate. I have  
now decided to join the  
Presbyterian Church in Leonia

as I always did yours. You  
were so helpful when we lost  
both mother and sister during  
the flu epidemic. We lived  
in Myrnaud Pl, Middle Village  
at that time. This letter may  
be all greek to you because you  
do meet and know so many  
people but I am hoping you  
may recall our family. Should you  
ever happen to be in this  
neighborhood I certainly would

and would very much appreciate  
your writing a letter to Dr. John  
W. Voorhis, the pastor, confirming  
the above facts. I have no idea  
how long church records are kept  
so I am taking the liberty in  
writing to you though I believe  
you are no longer connected with  
the church of Christ. I hear an  
occasional bit of news about  
you and followed your radio  
talks with great interest. I have  
yet to meet the pastor whose  
services I have enjoyed as much

enjoy seeing you again. My  
very best to Mrs. Page and the  
children who must be very grown  
ups by now.

Sincerely

Helen Baker

C 9362

Tuesday, June 23	Wednesday, June 24	Thursday, June 25	Friday, June 26	Saturday, June 27	Sunday, June 28
Registration and assignment First meal 6 P.M.	6:30 Rising 7:00 Breakfast 7:45 Morning Watch (Follow Me)	Same hours	Same Hours	Same Hours	7:30 Rising 8:00 Breakfast 8:30 Morning Watch
Opening session 7:45 Orientation- Statement of Movement Purpose of Conference. <u>Martin Harvey</u>	9:00 Opening of Morning Session 1. Address: "Significance of the Bible for the Present Age." <u>J. Stitt Wilson</u>	9:00 Morning Session Four Youth addresses on Christian Youth in Action Personal Religion: <u>Art Cassidy</u> Peace: Genne Race: Juanita Jackson	1. Address: "Challenge to Christian Action" <u>Kirby Page</u>	9:00 Morning Session Address: "What God means to me" <u>Kirby Page</u>	9:15- 10:45 Open session of entire conference to clear all final actions.
2. Explain program procedure. (8:15 Point out need for haste in whole Movement. <u>E.H. Bonsall, Jr.</u>	2. Worship at close of address 10:15 3. Nine groups (or more) for Commissions. 12:30 LUNCHEON	Economic Order: Hayes Bell or Hamilton 10:15 - 12:15 Commissions meet	2. Meetings of Total commissions	10:00 - 12:00 Reports of Commissions	11:00 - 12:30 Morning Worship Sermon: <u>Dr. Phillips</u>
3. Address: "American Culture and the Youth of America" <u>Dr. Halfred Luckock</u>	2:00 - 4:00 Commissions and sub-committees. 4:00 - 6:00 Recreation	12:30 LUNCHEON 2:00 - 4:00 Commissions	12:30 LUNCHEON 2:00 - 4:00 Commissions give reports	12:30 LUNCHEON 1:30 - 3:00 Denominational Groups	12:30 DINNER 1:45 - 3:00 Closing Commitment and Communion Service
4. Worship Service (planned) AI JOURN 10:00 N.B. Care for lunch for those getting in early.	6:00 - SUPPER 8:00 - 9:30 Evening Meeting 1. Worship Service 2. Dr. Daniel Poling	4:00 - 6:00 Recreation	4:00 - 6:00 Recreation	3:00 - 4:30 Territorial Groups 4:30 - 6:30 Recreation 6:30 BANQUETS in each eating place	
Leaders meeting at 10A.M. promptly.	Worship	Worship	Worship	8:30 Play or Plays	

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MEMORANDUM Concerning Program in the Royden cities during January and February,  
for the following persons:

Ray Newton  
Wellington Tinker  
Fred Atkins Moore  
Joseph Myers  
J. F. Kavanaugh  
Dorothy Detzer  
Frederick J. Libby  
Lester Hankins  
Glen Dalton  
A. A. Chaal  
Sherwood Eddy

*from d.p.*

Your detailed comment on the various questions raised in this memorandum are urgently needed. Perhaps the simplest way will be for you to write brief comments in the margin of each paragraph. You may merely indicate agreement or you may give brief reasons for holding a different judgment. We need to move along promptly so I will be grateful if you will let me have your comments at the earliest possible moment.

In various preliminary conversations there has been general agreement that instead of attempting two-day conferences we should concentrate our program during the six hours from 4 o'clock in the afternoon until 10 o'clock at night on one day. This means, of course, that the program during this limited period will be crowded. Nevertheless, it is likely we will get a larger attendance and secure a wider consideration of the whole problem if we use this method.

There has been considerable discussion concerning the wisdom of having more than two speakers at the mass meeting. Testimony from all over the country is general that two speakers would be better than three. In the Lansbury cities the practicability of having three speakers proved to be eminently satisfactory. In most cases the meeting began promptly at the hour set and moved along according to the time schedule. We were pleasantly surprised at the way the audiences stayed through until 10 o'clock. In not a single city was there any general exodus before the three speakers finished.

Surely, it was better in Boston, for example, to have had Prof. Charles G. Fenwick also speak than it would have been if only Lansbury and I had been the speakers. As President of the Catholic Association for International Peace he made a substantial extra contribution to the meeting. In only one case were the three ~~were the three~~ <sup>was the third</sup> speakers on the Lansbury tour disappointing. In all other instances the ~~three~~ <sup>third</sup> speakers made a genuine contribution.

When we consider the Philadelphia program in January, for example, it seems clear beyond debate that Harry Emerson Fosdick, Maude Royden and Sherwood Eddy constitute a more powerful team than just Royden and Eddy. Charles P. Taft would bring strength to a mass meeting, as would Norman Thomas, James G. McDonald or Smedley Butler.

Part of our problem is to fill huge halls with some five to fifteen thousand people. A prominent person has extra pulling power. At a special regional conference which is crowded into six hours, people expect a more concentrated presentation.

Much of the success of a meeting with three speakers depends upon our ability to get the meeting started promptly, to exclude all other talks and announcements and to keep the three speakers within their allotted time. This combination is difficult but not impossible. In the Lansbury cities we had a high degree of success. With proper preparation including an advance detailed conversation with the local committee and the chairman of the meeting, I am convinced we could move along according to time schedule.

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we are all agreed that the emphasis in January should be two-fold. First, the securing of mass political pressure upon Congress on behalf of peace legislation; second, the strengthening and extending of the peace movement. I have therefore drawn up the enclosed tentative outline of a program with these two emphases in mind. If Sherwood Eddy is to make the financial appeal his address should come at the beginning so that the financial appeal would not come immediately after his general address. In most instances, therefore, I suggest that he present the legislative aspects of the program and that he be followed by Dr. Fosdick, etc., on the peace movement. Where the third speaker is a person like Raymond Buell or Prof. Fenwick, Sherwood Eddy should take the emphasis on the movement, but speak first, and then have the address on legislation followed by the financial appeal.

Because of the nature of the program it seems preferable to have Miss Royden appear as the third speaker. If the time schedule is adhered to, there will be no serious problem as the audience will stay until ten o'clock for the conclusion of her address.

The financial appeal should come probably at the end of the second address. If Sherwood Eddy is the first speaker, then the financial appeal would be less effective immediately after his address. That is, on the assumption that he presents one of the two main emphases. If Dr. Fosdick should be the first speaker and the financial appeal came immediately afterward, then we would be confronted with the dilemma that Sherwood Eddy's address would follow the financial appeal which probably would not be satisfactory. All things considered, it seems desirable to have Sherwood speak first and to have the financial appeal after the second address.

I am suggesting that at the very beginning of the mass meeting the chairman read a statement carefully prepared in the national office interpreting the Emergency Peace Campaign. This would be far more effective than impromptu discussion by the chairman and would make it unnecessary for Sherwood Eddy to assume this additional function.

We should give careful consideration to the question of passing resolutions in the mass meeting. Experience thus far indicates that the kind of local committees we have, representing sharply different points of view are extremely reluctant to pass resolutions in a moment where there is no opportunity for discussion. The situation is quite different in a meeting of the Fellowship of Reconciliation or the Women's International League or some other compactly organized body representing a high degree of unanimity of opinion.

On the other hand it is imperative that we use these meetings as a means of bringing concerted pressure to bear upon Congress. I would like to suggest two devices. First, take time in the afternoon group sessions for letter writing to Congress by the persons present. If we had the details carefully worked out in advance with a plentiful supply of postcards, stamped envelopes and stationery, in ten minutes following the discussion of the legislative program we could get hundreds and in some cities thousands of letters written on the spot. These would be more effective in Washington than a resolution. In the second place, I suggest that we prepare a brief poll covering the legislative items under consideration, and that we ask persons present to mark "yes," "no," or "in doubt." This would give a more accurate reflection of opinion and would meet with much less opposition from local committees. The summary of this ballot could be used for publicity and for pressure in Washington.

Sherwood Eddy's address on legislation at the mass meeting probably should be devoted to a detailed consideration of how individuals and groups can be effective in their representative communities in bringing political pressure to bear upon

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be primarily on procedure, rather than a repetition of the program of the afternoon, when specific bills were discussed in detail.

It is barely possible that we could want to use the poll on the legislative program at the evening session also. Personally, I am very doubtful about this since time would be required for its explanation and for the mechanics of taking the vote.

There is a general agreement that the addresses this spring for the most part were too vague and scattered and far ~~too~~ <sup>nothing</sup> statutory. In the fall and winter we should endeavor to persuade our speakers to be much more specific and detailed in suggesting a practicable procedure for the man in the street. That is, we should urge our speakers to be specific concerning legislation and ways of getting it adopted, also very detailed in suggested ways of strengthening the peace movement.

From what is written above it is apparent that much responsibility will rest upon our Legislative Committee. Far in advance of the conference a plentiful supply of leaflets and folders interpreting this legislative program in detail should be sent to speakers and to local committees.

An important decision that should be reached soon is whether or not it is desirable to have our speakers appear elsewhere in the city earlier in the day. You will remember that we expect to send a team of seven or eight outstanding leaders to each of the 37 cities. Should they speak earlier in the day at colleges, high schools, women's clubs, luncheon clubs, etc.? Miss Royden is able to speak only once a day except that she has agreed to take two luncheons per week. What will be the effect of a Royden luncheon on the afternoon and evening sessions? My own judgment is that we had better reserve the speakers at the evening mass meeting for that session only. The speakers who address the simultaneous group sessions in the afternoon might profitably be used elsewhere during the day.

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Suggested Time Schedule for Conferences in Royden Cities

Afternoon Sessions

Five or Six Simultaneous Sessions for Educators, Students, Religious Workers, Womens Organizations, Business and Profession Men, and (on Sunday) Organized Labor

The same type of program to be used in the different sessions as follows:

- 4.00 - 4.05 Chairman's Remarks  
4.05 - 4.20 Interpretation of Legislative Program by Local Speaker  
(A printed summary of the legislative program prepared by the national office to be handed to persons as they enter the meeting.)  
4.20 - 4.40 Discussion of Legislative Program. (Remarks limited to 2 minutes)  
4.40 - 4.45 Marking of ballots on various items of legislative program, opportunity being given to vote Yes, No, In Doubt. This is a more accurate reflection of opinion than a resolution and will meet with less objection from local committees.  
4.45 - 4.55 Ten minutes during which individuals present will on the spot write to one or more Congressmen and Senators in behalf of specific bills. (Ushers to sell postcards, stamped envelopes and stationery to persons present.)  
4.55 - 5.00 Chairman's Introduction  
5.00 - 5.30 Address (in women's session) by Kathleen Morris on "What Specific Things Can Women Do to Prevent War?"  
(Similar addresses in other sessions)  
5.30 - 6.00 Discussion  
6.00 - 7.30 Recess for dinner in informal groups (no conference meals served, unless especially desired by local committee)

Evening Mass Meeting

- 7.30 - 7.45 Musical Program  
(In January and February darkness comes early and meetings can safely be announced for 7.30)  
7.45 - 7.50 Chairman reads 5-minute statement interpreting the E.P.C.  
(This statement to be prepared in national office)  
7.52 - 8.22 Address by Sherwood Eddy on "How to Secure Proper Legislation in Behalf of World Peace."  
8.24 - 8.54 Address by Harry Emerson Fosdick (Philadelphia only) or other Second Speaker on "How to Strengthen and Extend the Peace Movement."  
8.55 - 9.10 Finance appeal and collection by Sherwood Eddy.  
9.10 - 9.15 Chairman's Introduction  
9.15 - 9.55 Address by Miss Royden